both Parts

ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY SANSKRIT SERIES No. 9

LECTURES ON PATAÑJALI'S MAHĀBHĀṢYA

VOL. I

(Āhnikās 1-3)

BY

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ANNAMALAINAGAR.

5 s.] 1944. [Rs. 4.

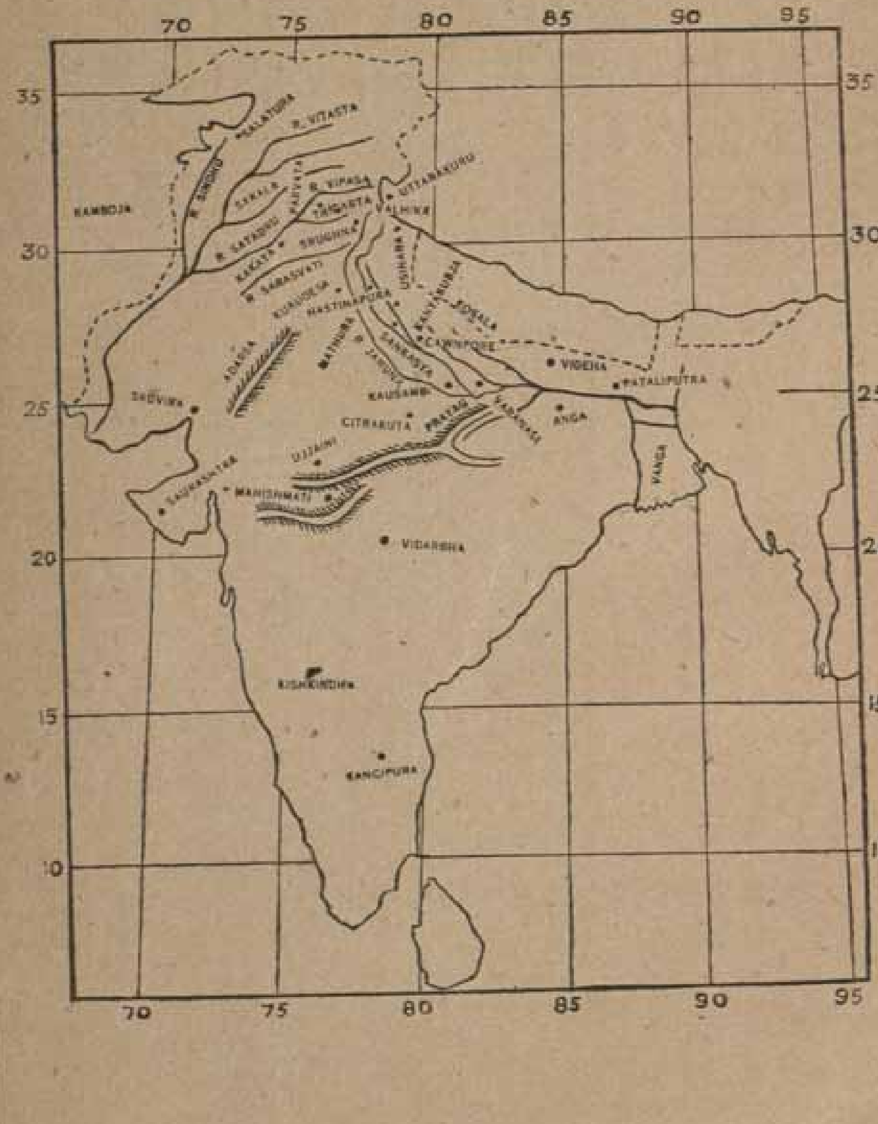
Forms 1 to 12 Printed at De Nobili Press, Madura.
Rest ,, The Trichinopoly United Printers Ltd.,

जयत्वण्णामलैविश्वविद्यास्थानमिदं सदा ।
जयतात्सांस्कृती विद्या सदा सर्वैस्समादृता ॥
जयत्वण्णामलैश्रेष्ठी राजासर्विरुदाङ्कितः ।
श्रेष्ठिराष्ट्रस्य राजासौ विद्यास्थानप्रपोषकः ॥

Tabular Statement showing the number of sūtras in each pāda of Aṣṭādhyāyī, the number of sūtras reviewed by Vārttikakāra or Vārttikakāras, Bhāṣyakara etc.

Adhyāya in Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī	No of Pāda	No. of Sūtras	No. of sūtras with the vārttika of *one* Vārttikakāra and bhāṣya	No. of sūtras with the vārttika of *more than one* Vārttikakāra and bhāṣya	No. of sūtras wherein vārttikas are explanatory	No. of sūtras wherein vārttikas amend sūtras	No. of sūtras not deemed necessary by Vārttikakāra	No. of sūtras with bhāṣya alone	No. of sūtras not deemed necessary by Bhāṣyakāra	No. of sūtras wherein Bhāṣyakāra defend Sūtrakara against Vārttikakāra	No. of āhnikas in each pāda	No. of sūtras reviewed in each pāda
I	i	75	52	5	47	4	6	18		1	2+7	67
	ii	73	40		36	2	2	14	2	1	3	54
	iii	93	31	1	17	15		10		2	2	42
	iv	110	31		27	4		24	7	1	4	55
II	i	72	27		17	10		19		1	3	46
	ii	38	20		15	5		6			2	26
	iii	73	29	3	13	19		11		6	3	43
	iv	85	31	1	17	15		11		2	2	43
III	i	150	69	4	43	30		16		1	6	89
	ii	188	53	2	25	30		7		5	3	62
	iii	176	49		19	30		9			2	58
	iv	117	19		17	2		10			1	29
IV	i	176	65	1	36	30		21		6	4	87
	ii	145	35		17	18		20	3		2	55
	iii	168	34	1	24	11		6			2	41
	iv	144	12		6	6		7	1		1	19
V	i	136	47		24	23		12	1	1	2	59
	ii	140	42		15	27		20			2	62
	iii	119	33	1	20	14		13			2	47
	iv	160	25		10	15		11		1	1	36
VI	i	223	93	1	54	40		28	2	3	6	122
	ii	199	33		21	12		5			2	38
	iii	139	47		15	32		18			3	65
	iv	175	56	1	32	25		13			4	70
VII	i	103	30	1	20	11		27		1	2	58
	ii	118	36		29	7		22		1	2	58
	iii	120	37	1	16	22		11			2	49
	iv	97	24		12	12		8			1	32
VIII	i	74	24	2	19	7		7			2	33
	ii	108	42		22	20		12		1	2	54
	iii	119	35		11	24		19		2	2	54
	iv	68	27	1	13	15		8			1	36
Total	32	3981	1228	26	709	537	8	435	16	36	85	1689

MAP OF ANCIENT INDIA.



BIBLIOGRABHY AND ABBREVIATIONS

Ṛgvēda R. V.
Yajurvēda
Vājasanēyīsaṁhitā V. S.
Sāmavēda
Atharvavēda A. V.
Śatapatha—Brāhmaṇa
Muṇḍakōpaniṣad
Mahābhārata—Śāntiparvan.
Uttararāmāyaṇa U. R.
Bāudhāyana Dharmasūtra B. D. Bōdh. Dharma.
Bāudhāyana Gṛhyasūtra
Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī P.
Pāṇinīya Śikṣā
Vyāḍi's Saṅgraha
Yāska's Nirukta N.
Jāiminīyasūtra
Tāittirīya Prātiśākhya
Kātyāyana Prātiśākhya
Tolkāppiyam (Tamil)
Tirumurukāṛṛuppaṭai (Tamil)
Gāutama's Nyāyabhāṣya
Mahābhāṣya M. B.
Chowkamba Edition
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Nirnayasagar Edition
Yōgasūtra
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Sāmavēda Gṛhyapariśiṣṭa
Bhartṛhari's Pradīpikā
Do. Vākyapadīya
Amarakōśa
Yuan Chwang's Travels in India by Thomas Watters
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Sphōṭasiddhi by Maṇḍana Miśra
Vākyapatīya's Commentary by Puṇyarāja
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Kāiyaṭa's Pradīpa
Annambhaṭṭa's Uddyōtana
Sāyanācārya's Ṛgvēdabhāṣya
Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa (Kannaḍa)
Siddhāntakāumudī }
Manōramā } by Bhattōji Dīkṣit
Śabdakaustubha }
Rāmabhadra Dīkṣit's Patañjalicarita
Uddyōta }
Laghumañjūṣā } by Nāgōjibhaṭṭa
Abhidhānacintāmaṇi
Śabdakalpadruma
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Pāṇini and the Vēda by A. B. Keith (Indian Culture Vol. II)
Thieme and Pāṇini by Batakrishna Ghosh (*ibid* Vol. IV)

CONTENTS

FOREWORD

BY

Mahāmahopādhyāya, Vidyāvācaspati, Darśanakalānidhi, Kulapati
Sri S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRIAR, M.A., I.E.S. (RETD.)
Rtd. Professor of Sanskrit & Comparative Philology, Presidency College, Madras, retired Curator of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras and retired Honorary Professor of Sanskrit and Dean of the Faculty of Oriental Studies in the Annamalai University.

MY friend Dr. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri, M. A., L. T., PH. D., has decided to confer upon me the pleasant and precious privilege of sponsoring, in a short foreword, these lectures in English on the first three *āhnikas* of *Sri Mahābhāṣya* by *Bhagavān Patañjali*. In exercising this privilege, I am happy to say that Dr. Subrahmanya Sastri has had the good fortune of studying the *Mahābhāṣya* under able teachers and has eagerly sought to acquire suitable opportunities for teaching the *Mahābhāṣya* through the medium of Sanskrit as well as English to Siromani students and to undergraduates studying for the Sanskrit Honours examination of the Annamalai University. A modern *belletrist* of the *Paramāikāntin* type in English and Sanskrit would prefer *Shakespeare* and *Kālidāsa* to the whole of the British Empire if he were asked to choose between the Empire and the works of these great poets. In India, the *Vāiyākaraṇa* tradition cherishes the oft-repeated saying महाभाष्यं वा पाठनीयम् महाराज्यं वा पालनीयम्. If a *privilege-calculus*, similar to the *Ānanda-calculus* of the *Tāittirīyōpaniṣad* should be worked out by *Vāiyākaraṇa* traditionists, they would give a scheme in which the opportunity to study and teach the *Mahābhāṣya* is on a par with Supreme Sovereignty in a political sense. Remembering all this, Dr. Subrahmanya Sastri has happily chosen portions of the *Mahābhāṣya* for

critical exposition through the medium of English in this work which is designed particularly to be of use to undergraduates studying for the Honours Degree examinations in Indian Universities. The exposition is critical and accurate as far as it goes and is lucid, easy and quite in conformity with traditional commentaries. A very useful and copious Introduction is prefixed to this work and Dr. Sastri has used and reviewed all the available material of importance in the writings of several modern scholars—Dr. Kielhorn, Dr. Bhandarkar, Dr. Max-Muller, Dr. Goldstucker, Dr. Faddegon, Dr. Thieme and Dr. Pawate.

This work, which is now being published by Dr. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri, carries with it my prayerful wishes and hearty congratulations in the same way and to the same extent as many other works he has been producing and publishing of late in Sanskrit and in Tamil.

सरस्वती श्रुतिमहती महीयताम्

(Camp) Ganapatiagraharam,
(*via*) Ayyampet,
Tanjore Dt., S. I. Ry.

S. Kuppuswami Sastri
6—6—43.

अष्टाध्यायीप्रणेतारं दाक्षीपुत्रं सुपाणिनिम् ।
वाक्यकारं वररुचिं भाष्यकारं पतञ्जलिम् ॥

चोक्कनाथं मखिवरं भाष्यरत्नावलीकृतम् ।
वेङ्कटाध्वरिणश्शिष्यं रामभद्रगुरुं वरम् ॥

नीलकण्ठं यतिवरं क्षेत्रपालनिवासिनम् ।
अद्वैतमार्गनिष्णातं शब्दशास्त्रमहोदधिम् ॥

वैद्यनाथं द्विजं मित्रं मरूरग्रामनिवासिनम् ।
शब्दशास्त्रप्रवक्तारं गीताद्यर्थप्रकाशकम् ॥

प्रणम्य तान् गुरून् सर्वान् प्रसन्नमनसाधुना ।
कुर्वे आङ्गलभारत्या महाभाष्यविमर्शनम् ॥



PREFACE

Pāṇini, Kātyāyana-Vararuci and *Patañjali* form the *Munitrayam* in Sanskrit Grammar.

PĀṆINI

Patañjali observes that *Pāṇini* was the son of *Dākṣī*,[1] a great ancestor of the author of the *Saṅgraha*,[2] that *Kāutsa* was his pupil[3] and he was known even to children.[4] He was recognised to be such a great grammarian as to receive the epithets *ācārya, bhagavān* and *sukṛt* from great scholars like *Kātyāyana*[5] and *Patañjali*.[6] The word **पश्यति**[7] makes us infer that *Patañ jali* considered him a *ṛṣi*. Yuan Chwang,

1 *Cf.* सर्वे सर्वपदादेशा दाक्षीपुत्रस्य पाणिनेः (M. B. under दाधा घ्वदाप् I-1-20, and युष्मदस्मद्भ्यां ङसोऽश् VII-1-27.)

2 *Cf.* शोभना खलु दाक्षायणेन सङ्ग्रहस्य कृतिः (M. B. under उभयप्राप्तौ कर्मणि II-3-66.)

3 *Cf.* उपसेदिवान् कौत्सः पाणिनिम् (M. B. under भाषायां सदवसश्रुवः III-2-108.)

4 *Cf.* आकुमारं यशः पाणिनेः (M. B. under आङ् मर्यादावचने I-4-89.)

5 *Cf.* एकशेषनिर्देशाद्वा . . . भगवतः पाणिनेस्सिद्धम् (*Vārttika* under अ अ. VIII-4-68); आचार्याचारात् संज्ञासिद्धिः (*id* under वृद्धिरादैच् I-1-1.) बहुव्रीहिस्वरं शास्ति समासान्तविधेः सुकृत् (*id* under बहुव्रीहौ प्रकृत्या पूर्वपदम् VI-2-1.)

6 प्रमाणभूत आचार्यः . . . सूत्राणि प्रणयति स्म (M. B. under वृद्धिरादैच् I-1-1.) तद्गुणसंविज्ञानाद्भगवतः पाणिनेराचार्यस्य (*id* under एकाचो द्वे प्रथमस्य VII-1-1.) माङ्गलिक आचार्यः (*id* under वृद्धिरादैच् I-1-1 and भूवादयो धातवः I-3-1.)

7 पश्यति त्वाचार्यः (*id* under जनसनखनां सञ्झलोः VI-4-42. etc.)

the Chinese traveller, also calls him so.[1] I-tsing, another Chinese traveller, *states* thus :—"The *sūtra* is the foundation of all grammatical science... It contains 1000 *ślokas*[2] and is the work of *Pāṇini*... Children begin to learn the *sūtra* when they are eight years old and can repeat it in eight months time."[3] *Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita* tells us that his father was a *ṛṣi* named *Paṇī*.[4] *Śabdakalpadruma* says that *Pāṇini* was recognised by other names also, *viz. Āhika*, *Śalaṅkī*, *Pāṇina* and *Śalāturīya*.

PĀṆINI'S BIRTH-PLACE.

Yuan Chwang, the commentator on *Hēmacandra's Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* and most of the modern scholars consider *Pāṇini* to be a native of *Śalātura*, a village near modern Attock in *Gāndhāra*. R. O. Franke thinks that he was born in the north (*Śalātura*), but had come to the east (*Pāṭaliputra*).[5] The author of the *Śabdakalpadruma*, however, says that his forefathers belonged to *Śalātura*[6] and he

1 The rishi applied himself earnestly to selecting from the stock of words and formed an etymology of 1000 stanzas each of 32 words. (On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India by Thomas Watters I pp. 221 and 222. *Words seem to be a wrong translation for syllables.*)

2 *Ślokas* refer to *granthas* with 32 syllables.

3 A record of the Buddhist religion by I-tsing p. 178 and translated by J. Takakusu.

4 पणीति कश्चिन्मुनिरस्ति पूर्वं स पाणिनं नाम कुमारमाप ।
स्वतुल्यनाम्ना तनयेन सोऽपि दाक्षीमुदूढां दृढमभ्यनन्दत् ॥ (*Patañjalicarita* I-47.)

5 *Pāṇini and the Veda* by Dr. Paul Theime p. 76.

6 अथ पाणिनौ ।
शालातुरीयदाक्षेयी . . . . . ॥ (अभिधानचिन्तामणौ)
गान्धारप्रदेशविशेषशलातुरग्रामजातत्वादेवास्य तथा नाम इति॰ अभिधानचिन्तामणिटीकायाम् । तुदीशलातुर . . . . (IV-3-94) सूत्रात् अभिजनार्थे एव छण् प्रत्ययः । अतः स्पष्टतः शलातुरप्रदेशः पाणिनेः पूर्वपुरुषाणां वासस्थानमित्येव अवगम्यते न तु तस्येति (शब्दकल्पद्रुमे)
अथ निवासाभिजनयोः को विशेषः ? निवासो नाम यत्र सम्प्रत्युष्यते । अभिजनो नाम यत्र पूर्वैरुषितम् (M. B. under S. IV-3-90.)

was not born there. If so, we have to determine his birth-place. *Jāimini* and *Bhartṛhari* state that *Vyākaraṇa* is a *smṛti* written by *śiṣṭas*.[1] *Ācārya Pāṇini* was considered a *śiṣṭa* by *Patañjali* and his followers. *Śiṣṭas*,[2] according to *Patañjali*, are those *brāhmaṇas* who resided in *Āryāvarta* bounded on the north by the Himalayas, on the south by *Pāriyātra* (a portion of the Vindhyas), on the east by *Kālakavana* (near Rajmahal hills in Bengal) and on the west by *Ādarśa* (Aravalli hills)[3] and who were proficient in some *śāstra*, full of contentment, free from avarice, possessing high character and doing their duty without expecting any reward therefor—धर्माभिनिवेशिनः. Therefore it may not be wrong if we consider him to have lived in *Āryāvarta*. His mention of the eastern country in *sūtras* like एङ् प्राचां देशे (I-1-75), प्राचां नगरान्ते (VII-3-24), and of the northern country in *sūtras* like उदीच्यग्रामाच्च बह्वचोऽन्तोदात्तात् (IV-2-109), and his reference to the opinion of the eastern and northern schools in *sūtras* like शोणात्प्राचाम् (IV-4-43), मातरपितरौ उदीचाम् (VI-3-32) may be taken as sufficient clue to his having lived in the *madhyadēśa* whose boundary is, according to *Manudharmaśāstra*, the Himalayas on the north, the Vindhyas on the south, *Prayāg* or Allahabad on the

1 साधुत्वज्ञानविषया सैषा व्याकरणस्मृतिः ।
अविच्छेदेन शिष्टानामिदं स्मृतिनिबन्धनम् ॥ (वाक्यपदीये I-143.)

2 के पुनः शिष्टाः ? . . . एवं तर्हि निवासतश्चाचारतश्च । स चाचार आर्यावर्ते एव । कः पुनरार्यावर्तः ? । प्रागादर्शात् प्रत्यक्कालकवनात् दक्षिणेन हिमवन्तम् उत्तरेण पारियात्रम् । एतस्मिन्नार्यावर्ते निवासे ये ब्राह्मणाः कुम्भीधान्या अलोलुपा अगृह्यमाणकारणाः किंचिदन्तरेण कस्याश्चिद् विद्यायाः पारङ्गतास्तत्रभवन्तः शिष्टाः . . . शिष्टपरिज्ञानार्था अष्टाध्यायी M. B. under S. पृषोदरादीनि यथोपदिष्टम् (VI-3-109) *Ādarśa*=Aravalli mountains : ; कालकवनः Rajmahal hills; *Pāriyātra*=West part of Vindhya (Geographical Dictionary by N. L. Dey.)

3 The same idea is mentioned in *Bāudhāyana Dharma sūtra* I-1-2-10.

east and *Vinaśana* or the plains at *Ād-badri* where the river *Sarasvatī* disappears on the west.[1] The eastern country referred to by him may denote the countries situated south-east of the *Śarāvatī* and may consist of the Kasi, Kosala, Vidarbha and Magadha[2] and the northern country may denote those situated north-west thereof.[3] The *Śarāvatī* is identified by Wilford with *Bāngaṅga* which passes through the district of Budaon in Rohilkand.[4] In *Madhyadēśa*, he may have lived as near *Vipāśa* or the Beas as possible as he enjoins the *pratyaya* अञ् to the names of the wells north of her.[5] Most of the countries like *Kuru Pañcāla* and cities like *Uśīnara* mentioned by him in the *sūtras* are nearer *madhyadēśa* than the eastern and northern countries though some are nearer the northern country. The names of most of the characters found in the *Mahābhārata* are mentioned in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*[6] and the place of accent in the word **महाभारत** is stated in the *sūtra* **महान् व्रीहि ... भारत ... प्रवृद्धेषु** (VI-2-38). *Kāuśāmbī*, the birth-place of *Kātyāyana*, the *Vārttikakāra* and *Prayāg*, the abode of the sage *Bharadvāja* and probably of the *Vārttikakāras* who went by the name of *Bhāradvājīyas* are in the *Madhydēśa*, the probable abode of the *Sūtrakāra*. It has already been said that *Śalātura* was the residence of his forefathers and he seems to have

1 हिमवद्विन्ध्ययोर्मध्यं यत्प्राग्विनशनादपि ।
प्रत्यगेव प्रयागाच्च मध्यदेशः प्रकीर्तितः ॥ (Manu. II-21)

2 लोकोऽयं भारतं वर्षं शरावत्यास्तु योऽवधेः ।
देशः प्राग्दक्षिणः प्राच्यः उदीच्यः पश्चिमोत्तरः ॥ (*Amarakōśa*)

3 & 4 Geographical Dictionary by N. L. Dey.

5 उदक् च विपाशः

6 ... अम्बेऽम्बालेऽम्बिके (VI-1-118), वासुदेवार्जुनाभ्यां वुन् (IV-3-98), भीमादयो-अपादाने (III-4-74), द्रोणपर्वत ... (IV-1-103), कुर्वादिभ्यो ण्यः (IV-1-172), साल्वेयगान्धारिभ्यां च (IV-1-169), पाराशर्यशिलालिभ्यां भिक्षुनटसूत्रयोः (4-3-110).

some knowledge of the places from *Śalātura* to *Madhyadēśa* at least the places mentioned by him—*Takṣaśila*,[1] *Bāhīka*,[2] *Kēkaya*,[3] *Trigarta*[4] *Parvata*[5] *etc.*

IS PĀṆINI'S AṢṬĀDHYĀYĪ A COMPILATION OR AN ORIGINAL WORK ?

"*Pānini* was not the *inventor of the Grammatical system* preserved in his work, though he improved the system of his predecessors, made his own additions to it . . . He availed himself of the technical terms of the older grammarians."[6]

"*Pāṇini* got handed down to him as *Upadeśa* from his *ācāryas* a book of *sūtras* which conformed to the *paribhāṣas* now found in the *Aṣṭd.*, with the *Dhātupāṭha* and the *gaṇapāṭha* as companion volumes to that book of *sūtras*. The book of *sūtras*, *Panini* found, was incomplete and inadequate as a manual of Sanskrit grammar. So he proceeded to enlarge it mainly by incorporating with it *sūtras* borrowed from grammatical works belonging to schools of grammar other than his own; . . . by framing, wherever necessary, fresh *sūtras* of his own and adding them to it"[7] "In the *Aṣṭd.* itself only those *sūtras* can be definitely ascribed to *Panini* which, though they do not go against the *Paribhāṣās* found in the *Aṣṭd.*, yet can be shown to be additions by *Panini* by the three tests of *maṇḍūkapluti*, the **चानुकृष्टस्योत्तरत्रानुवृत्तिः** and the purposeless *yogavibhāga*. *Such sūtras form only a*

1 सिन्धुतक्षशिलादिभ्यो णञौ (IV-3-93).

2 वाहीकग्रामेभ्यश्च (IV-2-117).

3 केकयमित्रयुप्रलयानां यादेरियः (VII-3-2).

4 भर्गात् त्रैगर्ते (IV-1-111).

5 The word *Parvata* in the *sūtras* आयुधजीविभ्यश्छः (IV-3-91) पर्वते पर्वताच्च (IV-2-143) may refer to the country. (*Geographical Dictionary* by N. L. Dey.)

6 *Panini* and his place in Literature by T. Goldstucker p. 88.

7 The structure of the *Ashtadhyayi* by I. S. Pawate p. 114.

negligible minority in the Aṣṭd. Then why call the *Aṣṭd.* system of grammar the *Pāṇinīya* at all? Why? Because—answer *Patañjali* and *Vamana* and *Jayāditya*—it is पाणिनिना प्रोक्तम्, न तु कृतम्—*Paspaśā* तेन प्रोक्तम् IV-III-101 . . . यत्तेन प्रोक्तम् न च तेन कृतम्." [1]

Pawate took पाणिनिना प्रोक्तम् पाणिनीयम् found in *Paspaśa* along with the *bhāṣya* under the *sūtra* तेन प्रोक्तम् and came to the conclusion that *Pāṇini* is more a *Pravaktṛ* [2] than the author of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. But, *Patañjali* has conclusively proved from the use of the words प्रणयति स्म, प्रयुङ्क्ते, करोति, क्रियन्ते, कृतिः, कर्ता, पठितम्, शास्ति, आह etc. in the following quotations that *Pāṇini* is not a mere *Pravaktṛ* but also the author. प्रमाणभूत आचार्यो दर्भपवित्रपाणिः शुचाववकाशे प्राङ्मुख उपविश्य महता प्रयत्नेन सूत्राणि प्रणयति स्म (M. B. under वृद्धिरादैच् 1-1-1).

माङ्गलिक आचार्यो महतः शास्त्रौघस्य मङ्गलार्थं वृद्धिशब्दमादितः प्रयुङ्क्ते (*id*).

पश्यति त्वाचार्यः—'आदेशो यः सकारस्तस्य षत्वम्' इति,—ततो घसिग्रहणं करोति (*ibid* under आदेशप्रत्यययोः VIII-3-59).

देश्याः सूत्रनिबन्धाः क्रियन्ते (*ibid* under अतिशायने तमबिष्ठनौ V-3-55).

शोभना खलु पाणिनेः सूत्रस्य कृतिः (*ibid* under उभयप्राप्तौ कर्मणि II-3-66).

य एव तस्य समयस्य [3] कर्ता स एवेदमप्याह (*ibid* under वासरूपोऽस्त्रियाम् III-1-94)

आचार्येण सूत्रं पठितं षष्ठ्या च निर्देशः कृतः (*ibid* under . . . ष्यङ्गोत्रे IV-I-78).

आचार्येण सूत्रं पठितम् (*ibid* under V-1-115).

1 *ibid*. pp. 118-119.

2 *ibid* p. 123.

3 न केवला प्रकृतिः प्रयोक्तव्या न च केवलः प्रत्ययः

यद्ब्राह्मणादिभ्यो यनं शास्ति (M. B. under ब्रह्मणमाणववाडवाद्यन् IV-2-42).

पश्यति त्वाचार्यः — न द्विशब्द आदेशो भवति — इति, ततस्तस्य परमाम्रेडितमनुदात्तं चेत्याह (*ibid* under सर्वस्यद्वे VIII-1-1)

The statement "*Panini* got handed down as *upadēśa* from his *ācāryas* a book of *sūtras*" is quite contrary to the statement of the author of the *Kāśikā* "विनोपदेशेन ज्ञातमुपज्ञातं, स्वयमभिसंबद्धमित्यर्थः, पाणिनिनोपज्ञातं पाणिनीयमकालकं व्याकरणम्" under the *sūtra* उपज्ञाते (IV-3-115)

Besides *Patañjali* clearly states that *Vyākaraṇa* is not *nitya* as *chandō-brāhmaṇāni*.

Cf. अन्यत्राभिधेयमनित्यं भवति। पाणिनीयमिति वा पाणिनीया इति वा (M. B. under छन्दोब्राह्मणानि च तद्विषयाणि IV-2-66).

न हि छन्दांसि क्रियन्ते, नित्यानि छन्दांसि (*ibid* under तेन प्रोक्तम् IV-3-101.)

In about 4000 *sūtras* of *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, *Pāṇini* mentions the names of seers who held different views in 19 *sūtras*,[1] the name of *ācāryas* in general in two *sūtras*, *ēkē* in one *sūtra*, *sarvē* in one *sūtra*, *prācām* and *udīcām* in about 20 *sūtras*. Besides, the *sūtras* जनपदे लुप् (IV-2-81), वरणादिभ्यश्च (IV-2-82), लुपि युक्तवद्व्यक्तिवचने (I-2-51),[2] औङ आपः (VII-1-18),[3] आङि चापः (VII-3-105)[4] and आङो नास्त्रियाम् (VII-3-120) are considered to be the *sūtras* of his predecessors. Thus only about fifty *sūtras* deal with the opinion of others.

Hence it seems that *Aṣṭādhyāyī* should be taken only as an original contribution of *Pāṇini* to the grammatical literature and not a compilation of the *sūtras* of previous

1 शाकल्यः—4; शाकटायनः—3; गालवः, गार्ग्यः, आचार्याः each 2; काश्यपः, स्फोटायनः, चाक्रवर्मणः, भारद्वाजः, आपिशलिः, सेनकः each 1;

2 व्यक्तिवचने इति च लिङ्गसङ्ख्ययोः पूर्वाचार्यनिर्देशः। तदीयमेवेदं सूत्रम् (काशिका)

3 पूर्वसूत्रनिर्देशोऽयं, पूर्वसूत्रेषु च येऽनुबन्धाः न तैरिहेत्कार्याणि क्रियन्ते (महाभाष्यम्)

4 आङिति पूर्वाचार्यनिर्देशेन तृतीयैकवचनं गृह्यते (काशिका)

authors, though he made use of *saṁjñās* of his predecessors, and adopted their method as in the use of इत् etc.

Pawate considers that जनपदे लुप्, वरणादिभ्यश्च, लुपि युक्तवद्व्यक्तिवचने, are the *sūtras* of *pūrvācāryas* and they are refuted by *Pāṇini* in the *sūtras* तदशिष्यं संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात् and लुब्योगाप्रख्यानात् and औङ आपः, आङो नास्त्रियाम्, आङि चापः were incorporated by *Pāṇini* from previous authors.[1]

Barend Faddegon thinks that the five *sūtras* beginning with तदशिष्यं संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात् (I-2-53) are interpolations. "The interpolation consisted originally in *sūtra* 53, an antagonistic opinion current in the old grammarian schools and well explained and refuted by *Patañjali*. Its insertion after 1-2-52 is due to the artificial term *lup* used in *sūtra* 1-2-51. Afterwards the term *saṁjñā* was misunderstood and a long series of objections were interpolated by schoolmasters who did not understand the worth of *Pāṇini's* researches.[2]

Faddegon's theory mostly rests on the interpretation of the sentence किं या एताः कृत्रिमाष्टिघुभादिसंज्ञाः तत्प्रामाण्यादशिष्यम्; नेत्याह; संज्ञानं संज्ञा found in the *Mahābhāṣya* under तदशिष्यं संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात्. Both the author of the *Kāśikā* and Faddegon have taken the sentence किं या एताः कृत्रिमाष्टिघुभादिसंज्ञाः तत्प्रामाण्यादशिष्यम् to be the statement of *pūrvapakṣin*. But the former holds the view that the *pūrvapakṣin* without correctly understanding what तत् in तदशिष्यं stands for and mistaking that it refers to the *saṁjñās* created by *Pāṇini* asked whether *ṭi*, *ghu*, *bha* etc. need not be mentioned and the *siddhāntin* replies that it was not so since the word संज्ञा in संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात् refers only to those *saṁjñās* whose meaning can be well understood. There are many instances in the *Mahābhāṣya* wherein questions are put by *pūrvapakṣin*

1 The structure of the *Ashtadhyayi* (pp. 110-114.)

2 Studies on *Pāṇini's* grammar by Barend Faddegon (pp. 57-59.)

without understanding the correct meaning. Besides he seems to have taken संज्ञा to mean संज्ञान; but संज्ञा (in the *sūtra*) means that through which correct denotation is produced and hence it is said संज्ञाशब्दा हि नानालिङ्गसङ्ख्याः. Faddegon thinks that the interpretations of *Patañjali* and the author of the *Kāśikā* on संज्ञानं संज्ञा are different. Since the *Vārttikakāra* himself says पूर्वसूत्रनिर्देशो वापिशलमधीते इति under the *sūtra* अनुपसर्जनात् (IV-1-14) and the *Mahābhāṣyakāra* says पूर्वसूत्रनिर्देशोऽयं under औङ आपः (VII-1-18) पूर्वसूत्रनिर्देशश्च under अह्नोऽदन्तात् (VIII-4-7), it is quite possible that *Pāṇini* may have incorporated some *sūtras* of the previous authors like *Āpiśali* and *Kāśakṛtsna* whose works are definitely understood from the *Mahābhāṣya* to have preceded *Pāṇini*'s.[1]

WAS PĀṆINI THE AUTHOR OF THE GAṆAPĀTHA OR NOT?

Pawate says that 'it seems that the whole of the *Gaṇapāṭha* and consequently the *sūtras* for which the various *gaṇas* were written are *pre-Paṇinian*" and "*Pāṇini* received the whole of the *Gaṇapaṭha* from his predecessors as उपदेश".[2] The arguments that he adduces thereto are that, according to the प्राचीनकारिका

धातुसूत्रगणोणादिवाक्यलिङ्गानुशासनम् ।
आगमप्रत्ययादेशा उपदेशाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥

upadēśa includes the *gaṇapāṭha*, and *Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* states 'उपदेश इत्युक्ते गुरुकर्तृकतायाः स्वरसतः प्रतीतेः'[3] and "*Kātyāyana* held that the *Gaṇapāṭha* preceded the *Sūtrapāṭha*"[4] and the statement

1 पूर्वसूत्रनिर्देशो वापिशलमधीते
काशकृत्स्निना प्रोक्ता मीमांसा } (*Vārtthika* under IV-1-14.)
तथा चापिशलेर्विधिः *Vartthika* under IV-2-45.
आपिशलपाणिनीयव्याडीयगौतमीयाः (M. B. under S. आचार्योपसर्जनश्चान्तेवासी VI-2-36.)

2 The structure of the *Ashtadhyayi* pp. 86 and 87.

3 *Uddyōta* under वृत्तिसमवायार्थ उपदेशः in *Paspaśā* in *Mahābhāṣya*.

4 The structure of the *Ashtadhyayi* pp. 86-88.

in the *Mahābhāṣya* "इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनं, ड्यादिपर्युदासेन पर्युदासो मा भूदिति" which suggests that there were two ways of reading सर्वादिगण.

In the *kārikā* there is mention of सूत्र also and the expression of *Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* स्वरसतः प्रतीतिः suggests that the word उपदेश has more meanings than one and *Patañjali* himself gives two meanings to it प्रत्यक्षमाख्यानमुपदेशः and गुणैः प्रापणमुपदेशः under the *sūtra* उपदेशेऽजनुनासिक इत् (I-3-2). Two ways of reading सर्वादिगण might have existed at the time of *Patañjali*, of which one was generally preferred. There are certain definite statements in the *Mahābhāṣya* which suggest that the framework of the *gaṇapāṭha* was the work of *Pāṇini* and it was further amplified by later authors.

1. अवरादीनां च पुनः सूत्रपाठे ग्रहणानर्थक्यं गणे पठितत्वात् (*Vārttika* under I-1-34). The word पुनः is appropriate only if both the *Sūtrapāṭha* and *gaṇapāṭha* are the works of the same author.

2. (*a*) यदयं श्वन्शब्दं गौरादिषु पठति (M. B. under विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्यम् I-4-2)

(*b*) यदयं कस्कादिषु भ्रातुष्पुत्रशब्दं पठति (*ibid* under इदुदुपधस्य चाप्रत्ययस्य III-1-41)

(*c*) यत् सवनादिषु अश्वसनिशब्दं पठति (*ibid* under VIII-3-110.)

The word पठति as the predicate of आचार्य which refers to *Pāṇini* clearly tells us that, in the opinion of *Patañjali* गौरादिगण, कस्कादिगण and सवनादिगण are the work of *Pāṇini*.

3. (*a*) एवमप्यधेः पूर्वनिपातः प्राप्नोति ; राजदन्तादिषु पाठः करिष्यते (M. B. under V-4-7)

(*b*) नासिक्यो वर्ण इति परिमुखादिषु पाठः करिष्यते, नासिक्यं नगरमिति सङ्काशादिषु पाठः करिष्यते (*ibid* under VI-1-63)

(*c*) यवादिषु पाठः करिष्यते (*ibid* under VIII-2-12)

(*d*) युवादिषु पाठः करिष्यते (M. B. under VIII-4-7)

(*e*) कथं चटका मूषिकेति ? अजादिषु पाठः कर्तव्यः (*ibid* under IV-1-63)

The expressions पाठः करिष्यते and पाठः कर्तव्यः clearly tell us that the *Gaṇapāṭha* was amplified by *Mahābhaṣyakāra.*

4. (*a*) अधिकरणे शेतेः पार्श्वादिषूपसङ्ख्यानम् (*Vārttika* under III-2-15).

(*b*) गवि च विन्देः संज्ञायामुपसङ्ख्यानम् (M.B. under III-1-138) The word उपसङ्ख्यानम् suggests that the *Gaṇapāṭha* was supplemented by *Vārttikakāra.*

5. The inclusion of व्याडि in क्रौड्यादि is a clear indication that the *Gaṇapāṭha* received additions later on.

6. Some *gaṇas* were created later on:

Cf. कम्बोजादिभ्यो लुग्वचनं चोडाद्यर्थम् (*Vārttika* under कम्बोजाल्लुक् IV-1-175.)

चोडाद्यर्थम्—चोडः, कडेरः, केरलः, (M. B. under *id.*)

Pāṇini should be credited with the authorship of the framework of *Gaṇapāṭha*, which was amplified later in several ways. The process of amplification may be said to have reached its *acme* in the well-known device of the *ākṛti-gaṇa* fiction.

WAS PĀṆINI THE AUTHOR OF THE DHĀTUPĀṬHA OR NOT?

"The ground-work of the only *Dhatupatha* we now possess is, like the ground-work of the *Uṇṇādi* list, the work of *Panini*".[1] "This list makes use of the same mute letters which are the *anubandhas* of *Pānini's* grammar, and their

1 *Pāṇini*—His place in Sanskrit Literature by T. Goldstucker p. 141.

grammatical value is exactly the same in both works"[1] This statement of Goldstucker should be true, since *Pāṇini* limits the number of roots which undergo a particular modification as शमित्यष्टाभ्यो घिनुण् (III-2-141), फणां च सप्तानाम् (VI-4-125) रुदश्च पञ्चभ्यः (VII-3-98). *Patañjali* himself states that the *Dhātupāṭha* should have been a work separate from the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and it should be the work of *Pāṇini*.[2] The meanings given to roots in the *Dhātupāṭha* is considered by *Kāiyaṭa* to be *non-Pāṇinīyan* and is held to be the work of *Bhīmasēna* by *Nāgōjibhaṭṭa*.[3] *Patañjali* shows that some portion of the *Dhātupāṭha* was lost before him.[4] *Kāiyaṭa* shows that the *Dhātupāṭha* was amplified later by the *Vārttikakāra* and *Mahābhāṣyakāra*.[5]

Pawate says, "The various schools of Sanskrit grammar seem to have had their own separate *Dhatupathas* . . . The *Paninians* themselves had their *Dhatupatha* in more than one version . . . But at present we have only one version of the *Paninian Dhatupatha* and the other seems to have been irrecoverably lost . . . The author of the *Ashtadhyayi* is not the author of the Dh. P . . . The Dh. P. seems to be the work of a predecessor of *Panini*. But nevertheless the arrangement of roots in the Dh. P. clearly shows that the author of the

1 *Ibid* p. 140.

2 तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यः 'अस्ति च पाठो बाह्यश्च सूत्रात्' इति (M. B. under *Sūtra* भूवादयो धातवः I-3-1).

तथाजातीयकाः खल्वाचार्येण स्वरितञितः पठिताः (M. B. under I-3-72).

3 न चार्थपाठः परिच्छेदकः तस्यापाणिनीयत्वात् (*Kāiyaṭa* under the same *sūtra*; भीमसेनेनेत्यैतिह्यम् (*Uddyōta*).

4 के पुनः षोपदेशा धातवः? पठितव्याः (M. B. under धात्वादेः षः सः VI-1-64).

के पुनर्णोपदेशा धातवः? पठितव्याः (M. B. under णो नः VI-1-65).

पाठभ्रंशसम्भवात्प्रश्नः (*Kāiyaṭa* under धात्वादेः षः सः)

5 सूत्रवार्त्तिकभाष्यगणेषु ये पठ्यन्ते तेऽपि सूत्रकारादिप्रामाण्याद्धातुत्वेनाश्रयणीयाः (Pradīpa under भूवादयो धातवः I-3-1).

Dh. P. knew very many *sūtras* now found in the *Aṣṭā.* and so arranged the roots in the Dh. P. as to serve the purposes of those *sūtras*"[1] . . .

WAS PĀṆINI THE AUTHOR OF UṆĀDI OR NOT?

T. Goldstucker says, "All the *Uṇṇādi* affixes have *anubandhas* which are exactly the same and have the same grammatical effect as those used by *Pāṇini*. They cannot be later than this work, for it refers to them: they cannot have preceded it, for *Patañjali* says that "whatever *anubandhas* occur in a *sūtra* of a former grammarian, they have no *anubandha* effect in *Pāṇini's* work". Consequently the *Uṇṇādi* list must be of *Pāṇini's* own authorship. This conclusion is based on the interpretation that इह in the sentence पूर्वसूत्रेषु च येऽनुबन्धा न तैरिहेत्कार्याणि क्रियन्ते (M. B. under औङ आपः VII-1-18) means *Pāṇini's* grammar. Can it not be interpreted to mean the *sūtras* in which such *anubandhas* have no *anubandha* effect? Besides the statement of *Kāiyaṭa* उणादय इत्येव सूत्रमुणादीनां शास्त्रान्तर[2]पठितानां साधुत्वाभ्यनुज्ञानार्थमस्तु इति भावः under S. उणादयो बहुलम् (III-3-1) and *Nāgōjibhaṭṭa's* statement एवञ्च कृवापेत्याद्युणादिसूत्राणि शाकटायनस्येति सूचितम् under the same *sūtra* suggest that, according to *Kāiyaṭa*, *Uṇṇādi* is the work of another grammarian and according to *Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* it is the work of *Śākaṭāyana*. But T. Goldstucker says that, "since *Nāgōji's* conjecture is purely personal, and is not supported by any evidence, I may be allowed, after the explanation I have given, to assume that the *Uṇṇādi* list is of *Pāṇini's* authorship."

WAS PĀṆINI AWARE OF THE EXISTENCE OF ATHARVAVĒDA?

T. Goldstucker argues that *Pāṇini* did not have a knowledge of the *Atharvavēda* since *Pāṇini's sūtras* did not

1 The Structure of the *Ashtadhyayi* by I. S. Pawate pp. 5-31.

2 शास्त्रान्तरे = व्याकरणान्तरे (*Uddyōta*)

speak of either the compound *Atharvāṅgirasas* or its derivative *Atharvāṅgirasa* though he mentions the names *Aṅgiras* in II-4-65 and *ātharvaṇika* in (IV-3-133) and (VI-4-174) and though *Patañjali* mentions आथर्वणो मन्त्रः and आथर्वण आम्नायः under IV-3-133. Do the words अथर्वन् and आथर्वण found in the *gaṇa* under IV-2-63 mean only a literary work? Since *Atharvavēda* was named not only अथर्वाङ्गिरस[1] but also आथर्वण[2] and since the latter is mentioned in the *Chāndōgyōpaniṣad* which is not considered later than *Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya*, and since the word आम्नाय generally denotes *Vēda* in Sanskrit Literature, the statement आथर्वण आम्नायः must be understood to mean अथर्ववेद. Besides, when *Patañjali* at the beginning of the *Mahābhāṣya* has stated that *Pāṇini* deals with both *Vāidika* and *lāukika* words, he quotes four *Vēdic* texts to represent four *Vēdas*. शन्नो देवीरभिष्टये is the text he quotes to represent the *Atharvavēda*. He refers to the same on three more occasions :—

ओं इत्युक्त्वा वृत्तान्तशः शमित्येवमादीन् शब्दान् पठन्ति. (M. B. *Paspaśa.*)

शन्नोदेवीयकमधीष्व (M. B. under I-3-2).

शन्नोदेवीयं संहितयाधीष्व (*ibid* under I-4-110).

The words अथर्वन् and आथर्वण cannot be said to mean only a *non-vēdic* literary work since the other words in the group वसन्त, ग्रीष्म, वर्षा, शरद्, शरत् ... are all taken by *Patañjali* to mean the study of *Vēda* in *vasanta* etc.[3] and the context favours the view that the expression आथर्वण आम्नायः refers to the *Vēda* whose seer is *Atharvan*.

1 *Cf.* यस्मादृचो अपातक्षन्यजुर्यस्मादपाकषन् यजुर्यस्मादपाकषन्। सामानि यस्य लोमान्यथर्वाङ्गिरसो मुखं स्कम्भन्तं ब्रूहि कतमः स्विदेव सः A. V. X-7-20.

2 *Cf.* ऋग्वेदं भगवोऽध्येमि यजुर्वेदं सामवेदमाथर्वणं चतुर्थम् (*Chāndōgyāpaniṣad* VII-1).

3 वसन्तसहचरितमध्ययनं वसन्तः अध्ययनम् (M. B. under IV-2-63.)

P. Thieme tells us that the word पलयति in S. III-2-51 suggests that *Pāṇini* is conversant with *Atharvavēda* since पेलयीत् is found in A. V. 6-16-3.[1] *Patañjali*, also in his statement, सर्ववेदपारिषदं हीदं शास्त्रम् under तत्पुरुषे कृति बहुलम् (VI-3-14) and under पूर्वापर ...(II-1-58), *Kāiyaṭa* through his commentary सर्ववेदसाधारणेनानेन शब्दानां प्रतिपादनं क्रियते and *Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* in his gloss इदन्तु सर्वेषां वैदिकानां लौकिकानाञ्च शब्दानामनुशासनम् suggests that *Pāṇini* knew *Atharvavēda-saṁhitā*.

PĀṆINI'S KNOWLEDGE OF THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE VĒDAS INTO MANTRA AND BRĀHMAṆA AND THE EXISTENCE OF KALPASŪTRAS ETC.

The mention of the word मन्त्रे in the *sūtras* II-4-80, III-2-71, III-3-96, VI-3-131 and VI-4-141 and of the words ब्राह्मण and कल्प in the *sūtra* पुराणप्रोक्तेषु ब्राह्मणकल्पेषु (IV-3-105) suggests that *Pāṇini* was aware of the classification of the *Vēdas* into *mantrabhāgha* and *brāhmaṇabhāga*. Besides, the word पुराण suggests that some *brāhmaṇas* and *kalpas* were considered to be ancient and some to be recent. *Kāśikā* gives भाल्लविनः, शाट्यायनिनः, ऐतरेयिणः, पैङ्गी, आरुणपराजी for the former and याज्ञवल्कानि and आश्मरथः for the latter. From this it is evident that the author of the *Kāśikā* considered *Pāṇini*, *Yājñavalkya*, *Āśmarathya* to be contemporaries or the last two lived a few years before him. याज्ञवल्क्यादिभ्यः प्रतिषेधस्तुल्यकालत्वात् (*Vārttika*) suggests that, in the opinion of *Kātyāyana*, *Yājñavalkya* was contemporary of *Pāṇini*.[2] From the statement in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* जनमेजयस्यापि शतानीको भविष्यति । योऽसौ याज्ञवल्क्याद्वेदमधीत्य कृपादस्त्राण्यवाप्य ... शौनकोपदेशात् आत्मज्ञानप्रवीणः ... it is clear that शतानीक याज्ञवल्क्य, शौनक and कृप are

1 *Pāṇini* and the *Veda* by P. Thieme p. 64.

2 The *Vārttika* is interpreted in two ways:—The author of *Kāśikā*, *Bhaṭṭōjidīkṣita* etc. consider *Yājñavalkya* to be an *arvācīna* and *Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* etc. considered him to be a *prācīna*.

contemporaries. It may therefore be inferred that *Pāṇini* could have known *Śatapatha brāhmaṇa*. If so, he should have known *Śuklayajurvēdasaṁhitā*. But P. Thieme says that Goldstucker was right in saying that *Pāṇini* did not draw upon the white *Yajurvēda*.[1] The *sūtra* छन्दोगौक्थिकयाज्ञिकबह्वृचनटाञ्ञ्यः (IV-3-129) explaining the formation of छान्दोग्य, बाह्वृच्य tells us that *Pāṇini* was aware of the *Chāndōgyōpaniṣad* and the *brāhmaṇas* of the *Ṛgvēda*. The *sūtra* त्रिंशच्चत्वारिंशतोर्ब्राह्मणे संज्ञायां डण् (V-1-62) may refer to कौषीतकीब्राह्मण[2] and ऐतरेयब्राह्मण since they have 30 and 40 *adhyāyas* respectively. ऐतरेयब्राह्मणम् originated at the country between *Kuru* and *Pāñcalā* and it has already been shown that *Pāṇini* lived in the *Madhyadēśa*. It is quite possible he was quite familiar with all the details relating to these *Brāhmaṇa* texts, such as the number of *adhyāyas* they contained.

The *sūtras* मस्करमस्करिणौ वेणुपरिव्राजकयोः (VI-1-154) and पाराशर्यशिलालिभ्यां भिक्षुनटसूत्रयोः (IV-3-110) suggest that the fourth *āśrama* was recognised before him and there was a book of *sūtras* dealing with things concerning *sannyāsins*. It is worth considering whether the *Bhikṣusūtra* refers to *Vēdantasūtras* since its author is said to be *Pārāśarya* here and the *adhikārin* to study it is generally considered to be *sannyāsins*. Since शिलालि is said to be the author of *Naṭasūtra*, *nāṭya*

1 *Pāṇini* and the *Veda* by P. Thieme p. 74.

2 Note that कौषीतकि is suggested in the *sūtra* विकर्णकुषीतकात्काश्यपे (IV-1-124.) and *Cf.* It is really impossible to doubt that V-1-62 with its reference to *Brāhmaṇas* of 30 and 40 chapters refers to the *Kāuṣitaki* and *Aitarēya Brāhmaṇas*... It would therefore be wholly impossible to rule out knowledge by *Pāṇini* of other *Brāhmaṇas* merely because he fails to note striking forms therein found. How much of our *Vedic* literature did *Pāṇini* use? There is no doubt regarding the R. V. K. S., M. S., T. S. and A. V. *Pāṇini* and the *Veda* by A. B. Keith (Indian Culture Vol. II, p. 737).

should then have been in a developed state. The mention of the word चरण in the *sūtras* चरणेभ्यो धर्मवत् (IV-2-46), गोत्रचरणाद्वुञ् (IV-3-126) and चरणे ब्रह्मचारिणि (VI-3-86) and the mention of तित्तिरि, कठ, कलापि etc. in the *sūtras* where तेन प्रोक्तम् has the *anuvṛtti*, clearly suggest that each *Vēda* had more than one *śākhā* in his time. The *sūtra* अध्यायेष्वेवर्षेः IV-3-69 tells us that *Vēdas* were divided into chapters and they were named after their authors. The word उपयोग in the *sūtra* आख्यातोपयोगे I-4-29 and its interpretation by *Patañjali* as नियमपूर्वकाध्ययनम् suggests that *Vēdas* were studied with नियम unlike *kāvyas*, works on *nāṭya* etc.[1]

The *sūtras* नित्यं हस्ते पाणावुपयमने (I-4-77), साप्तपदीनं सख्यम् (V-2-22) suggest that the important details of the marriage ceremony were the same in *Pāṇini's* time as they are now. श्राद्धे शरदः (IV-3-12) suggests that there were *śrāddhas* enjoined in his time. The word दायाद in II-3-39 suggests that there was partition of parental property. The *sūtras* यज्ञकर्मण्यजपन्यूङ्खसामसु (I-2-34), न सुब्रह्मण्यायां स्वरितस्य तूदात्तः (I-2-37), यज्ञे समि स्तुवः (III-3-31) etc. clearly show that most of the details of यज्ञs also were the same in his time as they are now.

From the points noted above it follows that there were *Śrauta*, *Gṛhya*, and *Dharma sūtras* before *Pāṇini's* time.

The *sūtras* आयुधजीविभ्यश्छः पर्वते (IV-3-91), ब्राह्मणकोष्णिके संज्ञायाम् (V-2-71) tell us that a section of *brāhmaṇas* in the *Parvata* country lived on weapons.

Batakrishna Ghosh says, "*Pragṛhya sūtras* of *Pāṇini*, *Pāṇini* must have been directly copying from the *Ṛk Prātiśakhya*".[2]

1 उपयोगः को भवितुमर्हति? यो नियमपूर्वकः। तद्यथा उपयुक्ता माणवका इत्युच्यन्ते, य एते नियमपूर्वकमधीतवन्तो भवन्ति। उपयोग इति किमर्थम्? नटस्य शृणोति ग्रन्थिकस्य शृणोति (M. B. under I-4-29)

2 Thieme and *Pāṇini* (Indian Culture Vol. IV p. 399)

The words नान्दी, लिपि in III-2-21, शिल्पिनि in III-2-55, श्लोक in III-1-25 and III-2-23 and सूत्र in III-2-23 and IV-2-65 suggest that writing, architecture, the *sūtra* form of the composition and the designation of श्लोक to verses were known in his time. The word भाषायां in *sūtras* like VIII-2-98 and the word छन्दसि in *sūtras* like III-3-129 suggest that Sanskrit was a spoken language in his time and it began to differ from the Sanskrit used in the *Vēdas*. The *sūtras* उपमानानि सामान्यवचनैः (II-1-55) उपमितं व्याघ्रादिभिः सामान्याप्रयोगे (II-1-56) कर्तरि उपमाने (III-2-79) show that the figure of speech उपमा was then known and the word उपमा was also used in the sense of *equal* as is inferred from the *sūtra* तुल्यार्थैरतुलोपमाभ्यां तृतीयान्यतरस्याम् (II-3-72). The *sūtra* दक्षिणापश्चात्पुरसस्त्यक् (IV-2-98) tells us that the words दाक्षिणात्यः, पाश्चात्यः and पौरस्त्यः were in use in his time. Originally they may have meant one belonging to the southern country, one belonging to the western and one belonging to the eastern. This may perhaps suggest that *Pāṇini* was in the *madhyadēśa* and referred to people south, west and east of it.[1]

The *sūtra* यस्कादिभ्यो गोत्रे (II-4-63) refers to *Yāska*. T. Goldstucker thinks that he is anterior to *Pāṇini*.[2] Since it is only a *taddhitānta* name, it is better to come to a definite conclusion on the point on the strength of another positive evidence.

1 Under the *sūtra* पञ्चधा विप्रतिपत्तिः दक्षिणस्तथोत्तरतः 1-1-2-1 of *Bāudhāyana*, the commentator writes दक्षिणेन नर्मदामुत्तरेण कन्यातीर्थम्, उत्तरस्तु दक्षिणेन हिमवन्तमुदग्विन्ध्यस्य. *Vātsyāyana* uses the word दाक्षिणात्यानाम् in *sūtras* II-4-10, II-6-46, II-7-23 etc. Hence the word दाक्षिणात्यः may originally have meant man of the south and later on may have been restricted to mean the inhabitant of the Deccan. (*Cf.* Apte's Dictionary)

2 *Pāṇini*—His place in Sanskrit Literature p. 171.

THE PLAN, THE PRINCIPLE OF COMPOSITION ETC. IN THE AṢṬĀDHYĀYĪ.

Faddegon in his studies on *Pāṇini's* grammar writes:— The first five chapters deal with the theory of the ultimate components of language or the analytical part of grammar, the sixth and the seventh chapters with the theory of word coalescence and vocalic sandhi in general and the eight with the theory of sentence—coalescence and of consonantal sandhi in general.[1]

The main principles of *Pāṇini's* forms of literary composition are mnemotechnical economy, logical division and associative digression,[2] and the subsidiary forms of composition and arrangement are (1) *pūrvatrāsiddhatva*, (2) distinctive insertion like the definitions of *saṁhita* and *avasāna* at the end of adhy. 1, pā. 4, (3) oratorical division like announcing in the last *sūtra* of a *pāda* and the subject of the following *pāda* or giving at the begining of a *pāda* a few additions to the foregoing para and insertion by emergency. A fact of peculiar interest in *Pāṇini's* composition is the tendency towards dichotomy in the main divisions of his work.[3] The indeclinables (avyayas) are enumerated by *Pāṇini* in I-1-37-41 and I-4-56-94, the former being based on etymology and the latter on function.[4] The term *nipāta* is used in its *wide* significance to include all the indiclinables with a relational meaning (conjunctions, model adverbs, close adverbs to finite verbs, prefixes to deverbative nouns and indeclinables, close adverbs which have developed into free adverbs, prepositions) and in a *narrow* significance to denote only conjunctions and model adverbs. This distinction of a *wide* and *narrow* significance appears to be a kind of logical

1 Studies on *Pāṇini's* Grammar by B. Faddegon pp. 51—53.

2 *Ibid* p. 49.

3 *Ibid* pp. 50—51.

4 *Ibid* pp. 7—8.

artfulness chosen for the sake of brevity. The word क्रियायोगे is used in the sense 'in connection with the *notion of an action either expressed or implied*' from the use of *upasarga* in V-4-119, VI-2-177 and VI-3-97 and not in the sense 'in connection with a *word expressing an action*, either a finite verb or a diverbative.[1] The terms कर्मप्रवचनीयः and कर्मधारयः might have been due to the influence of the older schools since the word कर्म in both is not used in the same sense as that in कर्तुरीप्सिततमं कर्म.[2]

What strikes us then ... is the trustworthiness of *Pāṇini*, his power of observation, his love of language, his deep intellectual and emotional understanding.[3] The worth of *Pāṇini's* work for us is not in its linguistic information, however valuable many a detail may be, but in its fitness as a training for our understanding the Indian method of composition and specially as a scientific work it offers in this respect great advantages.[4] The more one studies the *Aṣṭādhyayī*, the more one realises the depth and correctness of the characterisation given by Speyer of this work that it is a well-planned and not only virtuosic but also ingenuous text-book.[5]

"I adore *Pāṇini* because he reveals to us the spirit of India".[6]

HIS OTHER WORK.

Pāṇini is the author of *Pātālavijayam* or *Jāmbavatīvijayam*[7] also.

1 *Ibid* pp. 15 and 16.

2 *Ibid* p. 17.

3 *Ibid* p. 47. 4 *Ibid* p. 48. 5. *Ibid* p. 36. 6 *Ibid* p. 4.

7 *Cf.* New verse of *Pāṇini* by *Krishnadeva Upādhyāya* (Indian Historical Quarterly Vol. XIII.)

KĀTYĀYANA - VARARUCI.

Kātyāyana - Vararuci was very prominent among a large number of seers *Bhāradvājīyas*,[1] *Sāunāgas*,[2] *Ślōkavārttikakāra*,[3] etc. who wrote *Vārttikas* on *Pāṇini's* grammar. *Kātyāyana's Vārttikas* are generally prose, though some of them are verses.[4] *Patañjali* mentions the names of other grammarians like *Vārṣyāyaṇi*,[5] the propounder of the six *bhāvavikāras*, *Vāḍava*[6] and refers to *others* in expressions like *apara*, *aparē*, *anyē*, *ācāryas*, *kēcit* etc.

RELATIONSHIP OF VĀRTTIKAS TO PĀṆINI'S SŪTRAS.

Vārttika is defined thus by *Hēmacandra* :—

उक्तानुक्तदुरुक्तार्थचिन्ताकारि तु वार्त्तिकम्

This is translated by Prof. Goldstucker as under :— "The characteristic feature of a *Vārttika* is criticism in regard to that which is omitted or imperfectly expressed in a *sūtra*".[7] Prof. F. Keilhorn, on a close study of the first nine *āhnikas*

1 M. B. under *sūtras* दाधाघ्वदाप् (I-1-20), स्थानिवदादेशोऽनल्विधौ (I-1-56). पूङः क्त्वा च (1-2-22), णेरणौ ...(I-3-67). णिश्रिद्रुस्रुभ्यः कर्तरि चङ् (III-1-48). न दुहस्नुनमां यक्चिणौ (III-1-89), गोत्रावयवात् (IV-1-79), भस्जो रोपधयोरमन्यतरस्याम् (VI-4-47) etc.

2 M. B. under *sūtras* यङश्चाप् (IV-1-72), स्त्रीपुंसाभ्यां ... (IV-1-87), ओमाङोश्च (VI-1-95), घरूपकल्प ... (VI-3-43) etc.

3 *Bhartṛhari's Pradipaka* under अक्षरं नक्षरं विद्यात् etc. at the end of *Pratyāhārāhnika*. The *Vārttika* :

स्मादिविधिः पुरान्तो यद्यविशेषेण किं कृतं भवति ।

न स्मपुराद्यतन इति ब्रुवता कात्यायनेनेह ॥ under लट् स्मे & *Patañjali's* statement किं वार्तिककारः प्रतिषेधेन करोति make us infer that this *Vārttika* may have been by *Ślōkavārttikakāra*.

4 प्रत्याहारेऽनुबन्धानां कथमज्ग्रहणेषु न

आचारादप्रधानत्वाल्लोपश्च बलवत्तरः ॥ *Vārttika* under हयवरट्

5 जायतेऽस्ति विपरिणमते वर्द्धतेऽपक्षीयते विनश्यति (M. B. under भूवादयो धातवः I-3-1).

6 सौर्यभागवतोक्तमनिष्टिज्ञो वाडवः पठति (M. B. under प्लुतावैच इदुतौ VIII-2-106).

7 *Pāṇini* - His place in Sanskrit Literature p. 91.

of the *Mahābhāṣya* thinks that the *Vārttikas* consider whether anything has been omitted in the *sūtras* that should have been stated and whether there is in them anything that is superfluous, faulty or objectionable.[1] Prof. Goldstucker, consequently says that "*Kātyāyana* did not mean to justify and to defend the rules of *Pāṇini*, but to find fault with them" and that "*Kātyāyana* does not leave the impression of an admirer or friend of *Pāṇini*, but that of an *antagonist*, often too, of an unfair *antagonist*."[2] Prof. Keilhorn, on the other hand, tells us that" the object of the *Vārttikas* is then no other than this, without bias or prejudice to discuss such objections as might be raised to the rules of *Pāṇini's* grammar and on the one hand to justify *Pāṇini* by defending him against unfounded criticism and on the other hand to correct, reject, and add to, the rules laid down by him, where defence and justification were considered impossible.[3] Prof. Keilhorn deserves our gratitude for having found out the real object of the *Vārttikas* and the attitude of *Kātyāyana* towards *Pāṇini*. From a study of all the 85 *āhnikas* of the *Māhābhaṣya* I see that, of about 1700 *sūtras* discussed there, about 450 have no *vārttikas*. Of the remaining 1250 *sūtras* more than 700 *sūtras* are beautifully explained by the *Vārttikakāra* without picking any hole in them. About ten *sūtras* are found by him to be not necessary. In the majority of the remaining 240 *sūtras* only additions and corrections or more correctly, changes in form and meaning are made. Since a long time should have elapsed between *Pāṇini's* time and *Kātyāyana's* time, it is just possible in the *spoken* language for words to have been changed both *morphologically* and

1 *Kātyāyana* and *Patañjali* by F. Keilhorn p. 48.

2 *Pāṇini* - His place in Sanskrit Literature p. 91.

3 *Kātyāyana* and *Patañjali* p. 48.

semantically and to have become obsolete.[1] Hence the expression दुरुक्तचिन्तन may be appropriate from the standpoint of a *descriptive* grammarian, but is unsound from the standpoint of a *historical* grammarian. *Kātyāyana* shows himself a *historical* grammarian in having noticed such changes.

KĀTYĀYANA WAS LATER THAN PĀṆINI

The following *vārttikas* clearly show the great regard *Kātyāyana* had towards *Pāṇini* :—

(1) आचार्याचारात्संज्ञासिद्धिः (*Vārttika* under वृद्धिरादैच् I-1-1)

(2) भूवादीनां वकारोऽयं मङ्गलार्थः प्रयुज्यते (*ibid* under भूवादयो धातवः I-3-1).

(3) नित्ये च यः शाकलभाक्समासे ।
तदर्थमेतद्भगवांश्चकार ॥ (*ibid* under इको यणचि VI-1-77).

(4) बहुव्रीहिस्वरं शास्ति समासान्तविधेः सुकृत् (*ibid* under बहुव्रीहौ ... VI-2-1).

(5) प्रातिपदिकविज्ञानाच्च पाणिनेः सिद्धम् (*ibid* under आयन् ... VII-1-2).

(6) सिद्धं तु तद्गुणसंविज्ञानात्पाणिनेर्यथा लोके (*ibid* under एकाचो द्वे प्रथमस्य VI-1-1).

(7) एकशेषनिर्देशाद्वा स्वरभिन्नानां भगवतः पाणिनेः सिद्धम् (*ibid* under अ अ VIII-4-68).

The word सुकृत् and भगवान् used to refer to *Pāṇini* speak volumes. *Kātyāyana* seems to admire the service rendered by *Pāṇini* and the great traits of his character.

1 *Cf. Pāṇini*—His place in Sanskrit Literature by T. Goldstucker, pp. 95—98.

Form according to Pāṇini :	*Form according to Kātyāyana* :
(*a*) एकतरत् (अड्डतरादिभ्यः पञ्चभ्यः VII-1-25);	एकतरम् (एकतरात् प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः)
(*b*) चिन्मयम् चिन्मयम् (यरोऽनुनासिकेऽनुनासिको वा VIII-4-45);	चिद्मयम् became obsolete (प्रत्यये भाषायां नित्यम्).
(*c*) आश्चर्यमनित्ये (VI-1-147) (not permanent, rare).	आश्चर्यमद्भुत इति वक्तव्यम् (wonderful).
(*d*) भोज्यं भक्ष्ये (VII-3-69) (applicable to the eating of solid alone).	भोज्यमभ्यवहार्यमिति वक्तव्यम् (applicable to the eating of solid and liquid).

When such is the case, it is not possible to think that they were contemporaries as is said in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and that *Kātyāyana* was an intelligent pupil and *Pāṇini* was an idiot under the *Ācarya Varṣa* and they respectively composed *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and *Vārttika* through *Śiva's* grace[1] *Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita*, in his *Patañjalicarita* improves upon *Kathāsaritsāgara* by omitting to say that *Pāṇini* was an idiot and perhaps to emphasise the necessity for *Śeṣa's avatāra* as *Patañjali* makes both *Pāṇini* and *Kātyāyana* curse each other.[2]

1 *Cf.* अथ कालेन वर्षस्य शिष्यवर्गो महानभूत् ।
तत्रैकः पाणिनिर्नाम जडबुद्धितरोऽभवत् ॥ (4-20)
तत्र तीव्रेण तपसा तोषितादिन्दुशेखरात् ।
सर्वविद्यामुखं तेन प्राप्तं व्याकरणं नवम् ॥ (4-22)
ततश्चागत्य मामेव वादायाह्वयते स्म सः ।
प्रवृत्ते चावयोर्वादे प्रयाताः सप्त वासराः ॥ (4-23)
अष्टमेऽह्नि मया तस्मिञ्जिते तत्समनन्तरम् ।
नभःस्थेन महाघोरो हुङ्कारश्शम्भुना कृतः ॥ (4-24)
तेन प्रणष्टमैन्द्रं तदस्मद्व्याकरणं भुवि ।
जिता पाणिनिना सर्वे मूर्खीभूता वयं पुनः ॥ (4-25)
अथ सञ्जातनिर्वेदः स्वगृहस्थितये धनम् ।
हस्ते हिरण्यगुप्तस्य विधाय वणिजो निजम् ॥ (4-26)
उक्त्वा तच्चोपकोशायै गतवानस्मि शङ्करम् ।
तपोभिराराधयितुं निराहारो हिमालयम् ॥ (4-27)
आराधितो महादेवो वरदः पार्वतीपतिः ॥ (4-87)
तदेव तेन शास्त्रं मे पाणिनीयं प्रकाशितम् ।
तच्छिवानुग्रहादेव मया पूर्णीकृतं च तत् ॥ (4-88)

2 *Cf.* यस्मादविज्ञाय मम प्रभावं वृषध्वजानुग्रहभाजनस्य ।
सूत्रेष्वनुक्तोक्तदुरुक्तचिन्ताकृयोद्यमं वार्त्तिकमाततानिह्याः ॥ (I—67)
तस्मात्पतेदेव तनुस्तवेयम् इत्युद्गतं पाणिनिशापवाक्यम् ।
आकर्ण्य तूर्णं स विवृद्धमन्युः कात्यायनोऽपि प्रति तं शशाप ॥ (I—68)
भवानजानन् भगवत्प्रसादविवर्तभूतान्यपि वार्त्तिकानि ।
मह्यं यतः शापमदा मदेन ततो विशर्येत तवापि मूर्धा ॥ (I—69)

Since in *Kathāsaritsāgara*, the stories are said to be narrated by *Kātyāyana* and since *Kātyāyana* was definitely known to have written *Vārttika* on *Pāṇini's* work, the author may have thought it necessary that *Kātyāyana* should be shown as a precocious pupil, that *Pāṇini* was an idiot, that he was able to write his work through *Śiva's* grace and through *Śiva's* intervention and grace *Kātyāyana* wrote the *Vārttika* on his work.

But at the same time we read the following statement regarding *Pāṇini* in pages 221 and 222 of the first volume of the book, On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India by Thomas Watters:—

"Five hundred years after Buddha's decease, a great Arhat from Kashmir in his travels as an apostle arrived at this place (a tope in Po-lo-tu-lo). Here he saw a brahmin teacher chastising a young pupil: in reply to the Arhat's question, the teacher said he beat the boy for not making progress in Etymology. ... The Arhat answered, "This boy of yours is that rishi (*Pāṇini*)."

Since this story should have been current long before *Kathāsaritsāgara* was written, it may have been made use of, that *Pāṇini* was an idiot, though, according to it, he was so in his next birth.

We may positively state that *Kātyāyana* lived long after *Pāṇini* from the following point:— There is a *vārttika* द्रव्याभिधानं व्याडिः (under I-2-64); *Patañjali* states शोभना खलु दाक्षायणेन सङ्ग्रहस्य कृतिः (under II-3-66), सङ्ग्रह एतत्प्राधान्येन परीक्षितम् (*Paspaśa*) and आपिशलपाणिनीयव्याडीयगौतमीयाः (under VI-2-36); and *Kathāsaritsāgara* says,

अध्यापयितुमस्मांश्च प्रवृत्तोभूदसौ ततः ।

सकृच्छ्रुतं मया तत्र द्विः श्रुतं व्याडिना तथा ॥ (II-79)

Since *Vyāḍi* is *Dākṣāyaṇa* and he was a contemporary of *Kātyāyana*, *Kātyāyana* could not have been *Pāṇini's* contemporary, but should have lived at least 200 years later than he.[1]

KĀTYĀYANA'S BIRTHPLACE ETC.

Kātyāyana is said to have been born at *Kāuśāmbī*, to *Sōmadatta* and *Vasudattā* and educated under *Varṣa* at *Pāṭaliputra* and to have narrated the stories found in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* in the forests of the *Vindhyaś*. He is also said to have been the minister of *Yōgānanda*.[2] Perhaps the *Vārttika* **गह्वादिषु पृथिवीमध्यस्य मध्यमभावः** under IV-2-138 suggests that he is a *Madhyadēśīya*. From *Patañjali's* statement **प्रियतद्धिता दाक्षिणात्याः** under **यथा लौकिकवैदिकेषु** in *Paspaśāhnika*, it is generally said that *Kātyāyana* was a Southerner and he was sneered at by *Patañjali*. R. G. Bhandarkar takes him to be a Southerner[3] and Prof. Goldstucker says that he is one of the Eastern school.[4] The reason therefor is that *Kātyāyana*

1 *Cf.* कात्यायनपाणिन्योः शब्दशास्त्रपाठेन पाणिनिः कात्यायनात् पूर्वतनः इत्यनायासेनैव विज्ञायते, ततः कात्यायन एव पाणिनिकृतव्याकरणस्य वार्त्तिककारः स स्वग्रन्थे विदुषां वरं पाणिनिम् आचार्यत्वेन स्वीकृतवान् (*Śabdakalpadruma*)

2 कौशाम्ब्यां सोमदत्ताख्यो नामाऽभिद्विजोऽस्ति इत्यपि ।
द्विजोऽभूत्तस्य भार्या च वसुदत्ताभिधाभवत् ॥
तस्यान्तस्माद्द्विजवरादेष जातोऽस्मि शापतः । (II—30-31)
... अस्ति पाटलिकं नाम पुरं नन्दस्य भूपतेः
तत्रास्ति चैको वर्षाख्यो विप्रस्तस्मादवाप्स्यथः ॥ (II-45-46)
कृत्वास्मानग्रतोऽन्येद्युरुपविष्टः शुचौ भुवि ।
वर्षोपाध्याय ओङ्कारमकरोद्दिव्यया गिरा ॥
तदनन्तरमेवास्य वेदाः षडङ्गा उपस्थिताः ॥ (II-78-79)
इत्याख्याय कथां मध्ये विन्ध्यान्तः काणभूतये ।
पुनर्वररुचिस्तस्मै प्रकृतार्थमवर्णयत् ॥ (IV-1)

3 *Cf.* Indian Antiquary Vol. II p. 240.

4 *Pāṇini*—His place in Sanskrit Literature p. 182.

is called आचार्य and *Patañjali*, आचार्यदेशीय by *Kāiyaṭa* in his *Pradīpa* under यत्तदेतेभ्यः परिमाणे वतुप् (V-2-39) and *Patañjali* is taken by him to be identical with *Gōnardīya* in his *Pradīpa* under the *sūtra* आद्यन्तवदेकस्मिन् (I-1-21) and *Gōnarda* is in the eastern country and the *Kāśikā* gives under एङ् प्राचां देशे (I-1-75) the example गोनर्दीय. But it will be dealt with later on that it is not easy to decide that गोनर्दीय refers only to *Patañjali*. If so, the theory that *Kātyāyana* belonged to eastern school may not stand. If it is stated that, because he is said in *Kathāsaritsāgara* to have studied under *Varṣa* at *Pāṭaliputra*, he may be taken to belong to the Eastern school, it is also stated there that he forgot the whole of *Āindra Vyākaraṇa* which he studied under him. From the way[1] in which *Kātyāyana* explains many *sūtras* of *Pāṇini* as if each is an *adhikaraṇa* and the regard he has for *Pāṇini*, it is certain that he should have been an adherent of the *Pāṇinīyan* school and studied in the *madhyadēśa* near his birth-place *Kāuśāmbī*. Why he was stated to be a *Dākṣiṇātya* by *Patañjali* has to be explained. From the way in which he refers to *Kātyāyana* in many places of the *Mahābhāṣya*, it is clear that he holds him as a great seer who well supplemented *Pāṇini's sūtras*. This is a clear proof that *Patañjali* cannot be taken to have sneered at him. In that case we have to take it that he calls him a *Dākṣiṇātya* following some of the northern grammarians who

1 तदाचार्यः सुहृद्भूत्वा अन्वाचष्टे (M. B. under कालविभागे ... III-3-137 वोताप्योः III-3-141 अर्धाद्यत् IV-3-4 and विस्ताच V-1-31)

(*a*) आचार्येण प्रयोजनानि पठितानि (M. B. under ष्यङः ... VI-1-13)

(*b*) सुष्ठूच्यते अलोन्त्यस्य स्थाने विज्ञातस्यानुसंहार इतरथा ह्यनिष्टप्रसङ्गः (M. B. under अलोन्त्यस्य I-1-52)

(*c*) पठिष्यति ह्याचार्यः (M. B. under जनसनखनां सञ्झलोः VI-4-44)

(*d*) माङ्गलिक आचार्यः महतः शास्त्रौघस्य मङ्गलार्थं सिद्धशब्दमादितः प्रयुङ्क्ते ... पश्यति त्वाचार्यो मङ्गलार्थश्चैव सिद्धशब्द आदितः प्रयुक्तो भविष्यति (M. B. under the *vārttika* in *Paspaśa*)

might have described him in that way. Under the *sūtra* पञ्चधा विप्रतिपत्तिः दक्षिणतः ... I-1-2-1, of the *Baudhayana Dharmasūtra*, the commentator says दक्षिणेन नर्मदामुत्तरेण कन्यातीर्थम् and *Vātsyāyana*, in his *Kāmasūtra* makes mention of दाक्षिणात्यानाम् in II-6-46 and II-7-23 and *Bhartṛhari* mentions दाक्षिणात्येषु in his *Vākyapadīya* and दाक्षिणात्य is generally taken by modern scholars to refer to the resident of दक्षिणापथ or Deccan. *Pāṇini* gives the derivation of दाक्षिणात्य in IV-2-98 to denote only a Southerner. Therefore it is a matter for further consideration whether *Kātyāyana* is taken as a Southerner because he was so called by the residents of countries north of his place or on account of his having resided long in the forests of the *Vindhyas*.

MERITS OF KĀTYĀYANA

In explaining *sūtras*, he adopts the method which is generally used in dealing with an *adhikaraṇa* by giving the *pūrvapakṣa*, answering the points raised and finally giving *siddhānta*. He also explains grammatical points on the analogy of incidents found in the world and mentioned in the *Vēdas*,[1] from the experience of the world,[2] from nature, from *nyāyas* or maxims like.

एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यत्वम् (under I-5-56 and VII-3-85)

व्यपदेशिवद्वचनम् (under VI-1-1)

अपवादन्यायः (under I-3-9)

1 यथा लौकिकवैदिकेषु (*Paspaśa*, under वृद्धिरादैच् I-1-1., स्थानिवदादेशोऽनल्विधौ I-1-56, and एकः पूर्वपरयोः VI-1-84).

2 यथा लोके under एकाचो द्वे प्रथमस्य, VI-1-1 एकः पूर्वपरयोः VI-1-84 *etc.*
लोकविज्ञानात्सिद्धम् (under अलोऽन्त्यात्पूर्व उपधा I-1-65, आचार्योपसर्जनश्चान्तेवासी VI-2-36 *etc.*)
लोकविज्ञानाच्च सिद्ध्यति under समानकर्तृकयोः पूर्वकाले III-4-21 लोकवत् (under अजादेर्द्वितीयस्य VI-1-2).

सम्बन्धिशब्दैर्वा तुल्यम् (under I-1-71)

and from *nyāyas* based on *Dharmaśāstra* like

गुरुवद्गुरुपुत्रे[1] (under स्थानिवदादेशोऽनल्विधौ I-1-56)

धर्मशास्त्रं च तथा (under सरूपाणामेकशेष एकविभक्तौ I-2-64) etc.

He is the author of the following *paribhāṣās* :—

(1) उपपदविभक्तेः कारकविभक्तिर्बलीयसी (under II-3-19) (Case-relation of a noun to the verb is stronger than that to another word in the sentence).

(2) प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणम् (under IV-1-1) (Mention of a stem includes the stem formed by adding the gender-affix to it).

(3) अननुबन्धकग्रहणे न सानुबन्धकस्य ग्रहणम् (under IV-1-15) (Mention of one without इत् does not include the same with इत्).

(4) संनिपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विघातस्य (under I-1-39) (Rule bringing out the combination of two things never destroys it.)

(5) यस्मिन्विधिस्तदादावल्ग्रहणे (under I-1-72) (If a letter in the locative case qualifies another word in the locative, the former should be taken as the initial letter or the latter).

He exclaims the authority of grammar that it enjoins the correct usage of words through such expressions as

साध्वनुशासनेऽस्मिन् (under I-1-44)

सदन्वाख्यानाच्छास्त्रस्य (under I-1-62)

1 *Cf. Gāutamadharmasūtra* I-2-37-8.

वचनप्रामाण्यात् (under VIII-2-1)
This clearly shows the high regard *Kātyāyana* had towards *Pāṇini*.

He tells us that *Pāṇini* makes use of the *saṁjñā* from the previous grammar *Āpiśalam*[1] and mentions वाजप्यायन, व्याडि[2] and पौष्करसादि[3] who are not mentioned by *Pāṇini*.

He shows that, in certain cases, the *sūtras* may be split in a different way. From this he clearly informs us that they were studied in *Saṁhitā* form and they were taught how to split it into different *sūtras* by the teachers. Since *Kātyāyana* suggests *yōgavibhāga* in many places, it is quite possible that he should have lived long after the time of *Pāṇini*. His knowledge of Southern India made him modify *Kambōjālluk* (IV-1-175) into *Kambōjādibhyō luk* to include the Chola country.

He gives us room to infer from his statement सर्वस्य वा चेतनावत्त्वात् under the *sūtra* धातोः कर्मणः . . . (III-1-7) and *Kāiyaṭa's* commentary आत्माद्वैतदर्शनेन and *Nāgōjibhaṭṭa's* gloss सर्वत्र परिणामदर्शनेन चेतनाधिष्ठानं विना न च तदसम्भवात्सर्वस्य तदधिष्ठितत्वं ज्ञायते on the same that he was an *advāitin* and his expression वचनप्रामाण्यात् under II-1-1 shows that he considered the शब्दप्रमाण to be most powerful.

In the discussion on समर्थः पदविधिः (II-1-1) there is a sentence वार्त्तिककारवचनप्रामाण्यात्. Its other reading is वार्त्तिकवचनप्रामाण्यात्.[4] *Uddyōtakāra* having taken the former reading says thus:—

न च वचनेत्यस्यापि वार्त्तिकत्वात् वार्त्तिककृता स्वीयवचसः कथं प्रमाणत्वेनाश्रयणमिति भाष्ये वार्त्तिकेत्याद्यनुपपन्नमिति वाच्यम्। अन्योऽयं वार्त्तिककारो वार्त्तिककारान्तरीयैतद्वचनं प्रमाणान्तरत्वेनाश्रयतीत्यदोषात्.

1 पूर्वसूत्रनिर्देशो वापिशलमधीत इति (under IV-1-14).

2 द्रव्याभिधानं व्याडिः (under I-2-64).

3 चयो द्वितीयाः शरि पौष्करसादेः (under VIII-4-48).

4 Keilhorn's edition.

But since सिद्धं तु काङ्क्षतिदुर्गतिवचनात्प्रादयः कार्याः is found as a *vārttika* under the *sūtra* कुगतिप्रादयः (II-2-18), the statement of *Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* needs revision and it is better to take the second reading and to interpret that one *vārttika* mentioned elsewhere is stated in support of another *vārttika*. Hence it is not safe to infer that *Kātyāyana* referred to another *Vārttikakāra*.

Patañjali's statements वार्त्तिकसूत्रिकः साङ्ग्रहसूत्रिकः and सवार्त्तिकः ससङ्ग्रहः under क्रतूक्थादिसूत्रान्ताट्ठक् IV-2-60 suggest that *Kātyāyana* and *Vyāḍi* were contemporaries, that they respectively wrote *Vārttika* and *Saṅgraha*, that *Pāṇini's sūtras* were studied along with *vārttikas* and *Saṅgraha* and that *Patañjali* made use of both in his *Mahābhāṣya*.[1]

The *vārttika*:

नाम च धातुजमाह निरुक्ते व्याकरणे शकटस्य च तोकम्

under उणादयो बहुलम् (III-3-1) shows that the *Vārttikakāra* wrote his *vārttika* after *Yāska* wrote his *Nirukta*.

The *vārttika*:

भूवादीनां वकारोऽयं मङ्गलार्थः प्रयुज्यते

shows that the practice of doing मङ्गल to see that one's work is completed without impediment was prevalent before *Vārttikakāra's* time.

The *sūtra* एच इग्घ्रस्वादेशे (I-1-48) is found stated to be unnecessary by the *Vārttikakāra* on the strength of the point एङः सस्थानत्वात् and ऐचोश्चोत्तरभूयस्त्वात्. Under the *sūtra* प्लुतावैच इदुतौ (VIII-2-106) he gives the *vārttika* सिद्धं तु इदुतोर्दीर्घवचनात्. Since this is possible in the opinion of *Patañjali* only when मात्राऽवर्णस्य

1 सङ्ग्रहे एतत्प्राधान्येन परीक्षितं नित्यो वा स्यात् कार्यो वेति। तत्रोक्ता दोषाः प्रयोजनान्यप्युक्तानि। तत्र त्वेष निर्णयो 'यद्येव नित्यो अथापि कार्य उभयथापि लक्षणं प्रवर्त्यमिति and सङ्ग्रहे तावत्कार्यप्रतिद्वन्द्विभावान्मन्यामहे नित्यपर्यायवाचिनो ग्रहणमिति (*Paspaśāhnika*).

मात्रेवर्णोवर्णयोः, *Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* says that *Kātyāyana* is inconsitent.[1] It may be noted that it is the *Taittirīyaprātiśākhya* that says

अकारार्धमैकारौकारयोरादिः (I-26)

इकारोध्यर्धः पूर्वस्य शेषः, उकारस्तूत्तरस्य (I-28)

while *Śuklayajurvēdaprātiśākhya* says

ऐकारौकारयोः कण्ठ्या पूर्वा मात्रा ताल्वोष्ठयोरुत्तरा I-73.

The *vārttikas* सिद्धे शब्दार्थसम्बन्धे and आदित्यवत्स्युः found in *Paspaśāhnika* and *Pratyāhārāhnika* have parallels in the *Jāiminīya sūtras* औत्पत्तिकस्तु शब्दस्यार्थेन सम्बन्धः (I-1-5) and आदित्यवद् यौगपद्यम् (I-1-15). These along with the *vārttika* आम्नायशब्दानामान्यभाव्यं स्वरवर्णानुपूर्वीदेशकालनियतत्वात् under V-2-59 suggest that it is possible that *Kātyāyana* lived after *Jāimini*. About 8 *sūtras* like न धातुलोप आर्धधातुके, दीर्घाविवीटाम्, नाज्झलौ, एच इग्घ्रस्वादेशे are found unnecessary by *Kātyāyana*. It has already been stated that *Kātyāyana* made his contribution to the *Gaṇapāṭha*. He was, perhaps, aware of the science of medicine since he says

तस्य निमित्तप्रकरणे वातपित्तश्लेष्मभ्यः शमनकोपनयोरुपसङ्ख्यानम् under V-1-38.

PATAÑJALI.

HIS LIFE

Bhartṛhari, in his *Vākyapadīya*, says that it is through grammar one learns the correct words, that the knowledge of grammar leads one to *Mōkṣa*, that grammarians became so lazy as to need short-cuts in grammar and that, consequently, the *saṅgraha* was not studied, that *Patañjali*, the great, composed the *Mahābhāṣya* bristling with the worldly maxims, that its study became limited to a narrow circle, that it existed in a book-form among *Dākṣiṇātyas*, that the

1 एवञ्च वार्तिककारस्य पूर्वापरविरोधः (*Uddyōta* under VIII-2-106).

Ācārya Candra, at the request of *Abhimanyu*, the king of *Kashmir*, learnt it under *Parvata*, and popularised its study in *Kashmir*.[1] He suggests that *Patañjali* was the author of treatises on *Yōga* and medicine[2] and others express it plainly.[3]

1 तत्त्वावबोधः शब्दानां नास्ति व्याकरणादृते । (*Vākyapadīya* I-13.)
तद्वारमपवर्गस्य वाङ्मलानां चिकित्सितम् । *ibid* I-14.
प्रायेण सङ्क्षेपरुचीनल्पविद्यापरिग्रहान् ।
सम्प्राप्य वैयाकरणान् सङ्ग्रहेऽस्तमुपागते ॥ *ibid* II-484.
कृतेऽथ पतञ्जलिना गुरुणा तीर्थदर्शिना ।
सर्वेषां न्यायबीजानां महाभाष्ये निबन्धने ॥ *ibid* II-485.
यः पतञ्जलिशिष्येभ्यो भ्रष्टो व्याकरणागमः ।
काले स दाक्षिणात्येषु ग्रन्थमात्रे व्यवस्थितः ॥ *ibid* II-488.
पर्वतादागमं लब्ध्वा भाष्यबीजानुसारिभिः ।
स नीतो बहुशाखत्वं चन्द्राचार्यादिभिः पुनः ॥ *ibid* II-489.
अभीर्बभूवाभिमन्युः शतमन्युरिवापरः । (*Rājataraṅgiṇī* I-174.)
चन्द्राचार्यादिभिर्लब्ध्वादेशं तस्मात्तदागमम् ।
प्रवर्तितं महाभाष्यं स्वं च व्याकरणं कृतम् ॥ *ibid* I-176.
Abhimanyu lived about 100 B. C. (Dr. Otto Boetlingk); he lived between 40 and 65 A. D (Professor Lassen.)

2 कायवाग्बुद्धिविषया ये मलास्समवस्थिताः ।
चिकित्सालक्षणाध्यात्मशास्त्रैस्तेषां विशुद्धयः ॥ (*Vākyapadīya* I-148).

3 पातञ्जलमहाभाष्यचरकप्रतिसंस्कृतैः ।
मनोवाक्कायदोषाणां हर्त्रेऽहिपतये नमः ॥ (*Carakasaṁhitā—cakradattavyākhyā* I-1.)
अनन्तश्चिन्तयामास रोगोपशमकारणम् ।
सञ्चिन्त्य स स्वयं तत्र मुनेः पुत्रो बभूव ह ॥
यतश्चर इवायातो न ज्ञातः केनचिद्यतः ।
तस्माच्चरकनाम्नासौ ख्यातश्च क्षितिमण्डले ॥
आत्रेयस्य मुनेः शिष्या अग्निवेशादयोऽभवन् ।
मुनयो बहवस्तैश्च कृतं तन्त्रं स्वकं स्वकम् ॥
तेषां तन्त्राणि संस्कृत्य समाहृत्य विपश्चिता ।
चरकेणात्मनो नाम्ना ग्रन्थोऽयं चरकः कृतः ॥ (*Bhāvaprakāśa* in the introduction to *Hēmarāja's Kāśyapasaṁhitā*).
आप्तो नाम अनुभवेन वस्तुतत्त्वस्य कार्त्स्न्येन निश्चयवान् ।
रागादिवशादपि नान्यथावादी यः स इति चरके पतञ्जलिः (*Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* in *Vāiyākaraṇasiddhāntamañjūṣā* p. 12.)
योगसूत्रे पतञ्जल्युक्तेः (*Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* in the last *adhikaraṇa* of *Paspaśa* in *Mahābhāṣya*).

But there are also others who think that *Patañjali*, the author of the *Yōgasūtra* is different from *Patañjali*, the author of the *Mahābhāṣya*.[1]

I-tsing, the Chinese traveller, *writes* "There is a commentary on the *vṛtti-sūtra* entitled *cūrṇi* containing 24,000 slokas. It is a work of the learned *Patañjali*. This again cites the former sūtras (*Panini*) explaining the obscure points and analysing the principles contained in it and it illustrates the later commentary (*vṛtti*) clearing up many difficulties. Advanced scholars learn it in three years."[2]

Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita, in his *Patañjalicarita* says thus :— *Gōṇikā*, the daughter of a *muni* gave *arghya* to Sun-god praying for a son. *Śēṣa*, the lord of serpents, fell in her hand in the form of a sage. He then prayed to *Śiva* at Chidambaram to enable him to write a *bhāṣya* on the *vārttikas* of *Kātyāyana*. He granted it; thousands of pupils went to him to learn his *bhāṣya*. He agreed to teach them on condition that he would hang a curtain between him and them and they should never meddle with it. So did the instruction go for some time. Once wondering at the way he answered their questions, they threw aside the curtain. He cursed them at once. One of them was then absent. Though he was cursed for having gone away in the middle without performing *uttaraśānti*, he, after his repeated request, was informed that he would be freed from the effect of the curse after teaching

1 अयं च योगशास्त्रकारकात् भिन्न इति सरलायामस्माभिस्समर्थितम् ।
अनयोरभेद इति पाश्चात्यवैयाकरणाः (*Vācaspatya*.)
केषांचिन्मते योगसूत्रकारकपतञ्जलेर्भाष्यकृत् पतञ्जलिर्भिन्न एव ।
अनयोरभेदतां तु निर्दिशन्ति पाश्चात्याः (*Śabdakalpadruma*).
सूत्राणि योगशास्त्रे वैद्यकशास्त्रे च वार्तिकानि ततः
कृत्वा पतञ्जलिमुनिः प्रचारयामास जगदिदं त्रातुम् (*Patañjalicarita* by *Rāmobhadra Dikṣita* V-25).

2 *Cf*. A record of the Buddhist religion by I-tsing and translated by J. Takakusu p. 178. Prof. Max-Muller points out that *Patañjali* is called *cūrṇikṛt* or *cūrṇikāra* by *Bhartṛhari*.

Mahābhāṣya to him who would answer correctly that the past passive participle of **पच्** is **पक्व**. *Candragupta* who came from *Ujjayinī* gave him the answer and he was taught the work. His son by a *śūdra* wife was *Bhartṛhari*. He wrote *Vākyapadīya*, *Bhaṭṭikāvya* and the *śatakas* of *nīti*, *śṛngāra* and *vāirāgya*.[1] *Kāiyaṭa* takes the epithet **गोनर्दीय** to refer to *Patañjali*[2] and *Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* mentions that **गोणिकापुत्र** was taken to refer to *Patañjali*.[3] The word **गोनर्दीय**, *Haridīkṣita* says in *Bṛhacchabdaratna*, refers to *Vārttikakāra*. It

1 तत्र कापि ददृशे मुनिकन्या गोणिकेति गुणसिन्धुरनेन । (*Patañjali carita* II-7).
सम्भृतार्घ्यजलमञ्जलिमुच्चैः साहस्रकिरणं प्रति देवम् ।
यावदुत्क्षिपति तावदमुष्मात्तापसाकृतिरहिः स पपात ॥ (II-11.)
वचसि स्तुतिभिश्च सङ्गतं परितुष्यन्प्रभुरब्रवीदिदम् ।
तपसा तव शेष तोषितो वितरिष्यन्वरमागतोऽस्मि ते ॥ (III-24-25).
पदवार्त्तिकभाष्यनिर्मितौ प्रथमं पाटवमभ्ययाचत ॥ (III-26).
जगदुपकृतये चकार भाष्यं महदचिरेण पतञ्जलिर्महात्मा ॥ (V-3).
तमृषिमनुययुस्तदीयभाष्यं पिपठिषवः किल पण्डिताः सहस्रम् । (V-4).
तदनु यवनिकां वितत्य गूढं वपुरनया च पतञ्जलिर्विधाय ।
उपविशत बहिस्तिरस्करिण्याः पठत कृतिं च ममेति तानुवाच ॥ (V-5).
मम स तु न भवेन्मनः प्रियो मां य इह तिरस्करिणीमुदस्य पश्येत् ।
इति पुनरभिधाय पाठनार्थं फणिपतिरूपमृषिः समाललम्बे ॥ (V-6).
अथ फणिकृतिन्तावदेव पेठुः विलसति यावति वासरूपसूत्रम् । (V-14).
प्रतिपुरुषमिहाननैः ... वदतीति विस्मयेन ।
अपहृतमनसोऽथ तेऽपनिन्युः सपदि तिरस्करिणीं तदीक्षणाय ॥ (V-15).
फणिपतिरभिवीक्ष्य तादृशांस्तान् कथमिदमित्यनुचिन्त्य यावदास्त ।
परिसरमुपसृत्य तावदेकः प्रणतमौलिरिदं भयादवादीत् ॥ (V-18).
फणिवर भगवन्प्रसीद मत्वां बहिरगमं जलमोचनाय यावत् ।
विधुतयवनिकाः कृतापराधा बत मम तावदिति स्थिताः सतीर्थ्याः ॥ (V-19).
इति गदितगिरं शशाप कोपात् यदविहितोत्तरशान्तिमन्त्रपाठः ।
बहिरसि गतवान् पठन्मदीयां कृतिमपि तद्भव राक्षसोऽग्रसेति ॥ (V-20).
निष्ठायां किं रूपं पचेरिति त्वं बुधान् पृच्छ ।
पक्वमिति वदति यस्त्वां मम कृतिमध्याप्य मुच्यसे शापात् ॥
इति कथयति रक्षसि प्रहृष्यन् इदमवदीदस्मि चन्द्रगुप्तः ।
उपगम इह मे यमुज्जयिन्याः पठितुमहीश्वरभाष्यमन्तिके ते ॥ (V-31) *etc.*

2 गोनर्दीयस्त्वाह — भाष्यकारस्त्वाह (M. B. under आद्यन्तवदेकस्मिन् I-1-29).

3 गोणिकापुत्रः— भाष्यकार इत्याहुः (M. B. under अकथितं च I-4-52).

occurs four times in the *Mahābhāṣya*:— under the *sūtras* आद्यन्तवदेकस्मिन् (I-1-21), न बहुव्रीहौ (I-1-29), तत्रोपपदं सप्तमीस्थम् (III-1-92) and जराया जरसन्यतरस्याम् (VII-2-101).

In the first case when it is said that आद्यन्तवद्भाव need not be mentioned in the *vārttika* अपूर्वानुत्तरलक्षणत्वाद्यन्तयोः सिद्धमेकस्मिन्, the expression गोनर्दीयस्त्वाह 'सत्यमेतत्सति त्वन्यस्मिन्निति'. 'सति त्वन्यस्मिन्...' is the first *vārttika* under the *sūtra*.. Hence the *vārttika* 'अपूर्व.....' should be taken to belong to one who is other than the author of the *vārttika* "सति तु....". If the first *vārttika* belongs to *Kātyāyana*, गोनर्दीय should refer to him alone. If the *vārttika* 'अपूर्व...' is taken to belong to him, गोनर्दीय should refer to another *Vārttikakāra*. A doubt may arise whether *Patañjali* quotes any *vārttika* belonging to any *Vārttikakāra* other than *Kātyāyana* at the commencement of the discussion on any *sūtra*. The *vārttika*

स्मादिविधिः पुरान्ते यद्यविशेषेण किं कृतं भवति ।

न स्मपुराद्यतन इति ब्रुवता कात्यायनेनेह ॥ under the *sūtra* लट् स्मे seems to belong to the *Ślōkavārttikakāra* since mention is made here of *Kātyāyana*. In any case it seems that it cannot refer to *Bhāṣyakāra*. In the second case when it is said that, on the authority of the *sūtra* न बहुव्रीहौ, only the forms त्वत्कपितृकः and मत्कपितृकः can be taken to be correct, we find गोनर्दीयस्त्वाह "अकच्स्वरौ तु कर्तव्यौ प्रत्यङ्गं मुक्तसंशयौ." Here too it is better to take गोनर्दीय to refer to *Kātyāyana* or another *Vārttikakāra*. It deserves to be noted that the author of the *Kāśikā* has not mentioned the forms त्वकत्पितृकः and मकत्पितृकः and consequently has not recognised the statement अकच्स्वरौ तु कर्तव्यौ प्रत्यङ्गं मुक्तसंशयौ, which gives room to infer that गोनर्दीय here may refer to a *Vārttikakāra* other than *Kātyāyana*.

In the third case when it is said that there will be no authority sanctioning the correctness of the word काशकटीकारम्

in the sentence इच्छाम्यहं काशकटीकारम् we find इष्टमेवैतद्गोनर्दीयस्य. Here too there is no harm if गोनर्दीय is taken to refer to a *Vārttikakāra* other than *Kātyāyana* and not to *Bhāṣyakāra*.

In the fourth case when it is said that the forms अतिजरम् and अतिजरैः have no authority sanctioning their correctness, it is said गोनर्दीय आह 'इष्टमेवैतत् संगृहीतं भवति'. Here too the same thing may hold good as in the third case.

Taking all this into consideration, it seems to me that गोनर्दीय refers to a *Vārttikakāra* of the Eastern school.

There is another argument also which may lend support to this. *Vātsyāyana*, in his *Kāmasūtra* quotes गोनर्दीय on five occasions and गोणिकापुत्र on eight occasions. On one such occasion while dealing with the number of *nāyikās* he says

अन्यकारणवशात् परपरिगृहीतापि पाक्षिकी चतुर्थीति गोणिकापुत्रः I-5-5.

उत्क्रान्तबालभावाकुलयुवतिरूपचारान्यत्वात् अष्टमीति गोनर्दीयः I-5-25.

When the number of *nāyikās* according to *Gōṇikāputra* is four and that, according to *Gōnardīya*, it is eight, it is not possible for both to be one and the same person. It then follows that both the epithets cannot refer to one person, *Patañjali*. Besides it is not generally known that *Patañjali* wrote any treatise on *Kāmaśāstra*. It is safer therefore to conclude that both *Gōṇikāputra* and *Gōnardīya* do not refer to him.

If it is decided that *Gōnardīya* does not refer to *Patañjali*, the statement that he is an Eastern grammarian[1] cannot stand, as also the statement that *Kātyāyana* also belonged to the Eastern country. *Parbhatacandra Cakravarti's*

1 *Cf. Pāṇini*—His place in Sanskrit Literature p. 181.

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opinion that he is a Southerner[1] needs revision. There are strong reasons to believe that *Patañjali* should have studied under the pupil-descendants of *Kātyāyana*.

It has already been stated that many *sūtras* of *Pāṇini* are discussed by *Kātyāyana* in the form of *adhikaraṇas*. To decide which of the *vārttikas* are *pūrvapakṣīya* and which of them are *siddhāntīya* is not very easy. It can be easily done if it was handed down from teacher to pupil. In many places *Kātyāyana* states यथा लौकिकवैदिकेषु, यथा लोके, लोकवत्, लोकविज्ञानात्सिद्धम्, स्वभावसिद्धत्वात्, धर्मशास्त्रं च तथा etc. Unless it was handed down from teacher to pupil, the applications of the above statements can hardly be easily known. A cursory study of *Mahābhāṣya* would convince any one that *Patañjali* should have studied under *Kātyāyana's* disciples or their disciples.

His range of personal knowledge of geography of India extends to Kashmir on the north,[2] *Pāṭaliputra* in the east[3] and Ujjain on the south.[4] He mentions that *Śivapura* is a village in the northern country, that *Kāstīra*, *Dāsarūpya*, *Śakala*, *Sāusuka*, *Pātālaprastha*, *Nāndīpura*, and *Kāukkuṭīvaha* are villages in *Vāhīka*;[5] *Śaṅkāśya* which he mentions there is

1 *Cf.* The Indian Historical Quarterly Vol. II p. 268.

2 कश्मीरान् गमिष्यामः, तत्र सक्तून् पास्यामः । अभिजानासि देवदत्त, कश्मीरानगच्छाम, तत्र सक्तूनपिबाम (M. B. under विभाषा साकाङ्क्षे III-2-114).

3 कश्चित् पाटलिपुत्रं जिगमिषुरेकमहर्गत्वाऽऽह इदमद्य गतमिति (M. B. under निष्ठा III-2-102).
कश्चित् पाटलिपुत्रं जिगमिषुराह योऽयमध्वा गन्तव्य आपाटलिपुत्रादेतस्मिन् कूपो भविष्यति (M. B. under III-3-133) etc.
पाटलिपुत्रस्य व्याख्यानी सुकोसलेति ...पाटलिपुत्रं चाऽस्मा अवयवश आचष्टे ईदृशा अस्य प्राकारा ईदृशा अस्य प्रासादा इति (M. B. under IV-3-66).
आपाटलिपुत्रं वृष्टो देवः (M. B. under II-4-83.)
अनुशोणं पाटलिपुत्रम् (M. B. under II-1-16.)
पाटलिपुत्रादागच्छामि (M. B. under II-3-28.)

4 उज्जयिन्याः प्रस्थितो माहिष्मत्यां सूर्योद्गमनं संभावयते (M. B. under हेतुमति च III-1-26)

5 M. B. under अन्यथात्यप् (IV-2-104.)

45 miles north-west of **कान्यकुब्ज**. *Kāmpilya* also is a place near to it. He states that the distance from *Gavīdhumān* to *Śāṅkāśya* is four *yōjanas*;[1] *Gavīdhumān* is modern Kundarkot. *Śaurya* and *Jāmbava* are two cities and *Kētavatā* and *Śālūkinī* are two villages mentioned under the *sūtra* **विशिष्टलिङ्गो नदीदेशोऽग्रामाः** II-4-7. *Srughna*[2] also is a village. *Mathurā*,[3] *Sākēta*,[4] *Kānyakubja*,[5] *Hastināpura*,[6] *Vārāṇāsī*[7] are the cities which are mentioned by him. Most of them are in *Madhyadēśa*. The word **निष्कौशाम्बिः**[8] is used more than once; *Kāuśāmbī* is an old village on the left bank of the Jumna about 30 miles to the west of the Allahabad.[9] The two villages *Kētavatā* and *Śālūkinī* are perhaps near *Kāuśāmbī*. The rivers that he mentions are the Ganges, the Jumna, the *Sōn* and the *Rathasyā*. The word **काञ्चीपुरक** is used under the *sūtra* **अव्ययात्त्यप्**; it means the resident of *Kāñcīpura*. If this refers to the present city under that name in the Madras Presidency, it seems that it is the only city in Dekhan that is mentioned by him. The provinces that he refers to are *Gāndhāra*,[10] *Kāśmīra*,[11]

1 M. B. under अपादाने पञ्चमी (II-3-28.)

2 अयं पन्थाः स्रुघ्नमुपतिष्ठते (M. B. under उपान्मन्त्रकरणे I-3-25.)

3 M. B. under the *sūtras* ऋलृक्, गाङ्कुटादिभ्योऽञ्णिन्ङित् (1-2-1) etc.

4 अयं पन्थाः साकेतमुपतिष्ठते (*ibid.*)

5 कान्यकुब्जी (M. B. under गोत्रावयवात् IV-1-79.)

6 अनुगङ्गं हास्तिनपुरम् (M. B. under यस्य चायामः II-1-16.)

7 अनुगङ्गं वाराणसी (*ibid*).

8 निष्क्रान्तः कौशाम्ब्याः निष्कौशाम्बिः under *sūtras* कुगतिप्रादयः (II-2-18), आकडारादेका संज्ञा (I-4-1) etc.

9 Geographical Dictionary by Dey.

10 गान्धारी (M. B. under IV-1-14).

11 कश्मीरराजः (M. B. under IV-1-1).

Pañcanada[1] *Avantī*,[2] *Kuntī*,[3] *Kurū*,[4] *Madra*,[5] *Pāñcāla*,[6] *Vidēha*,[7] *Kōsala*,[8] *Kāśī*,[9] *Vidarbha*,[10] *Aṅga*,[11] *Vaṅga*,[12] *Trigarta*,[13] *Surāṣtra*, *Kāmbōja*,[14] and *Kērala*.[15]

Patañjali tells us that brahman women studied the grammars of *Āpiśala* and *Kāśakṛtsna*[16] and a cave was called *Kiṣkindhā*.[17]

Patañjali's knowledge of medicine is seen from the following :—

(1) दधित्रपुसं प्रत्यक्षो ज्वरः नड्वलोदकं पादरोगः आयुर्वै घृतम् (M. B. under I-1-58 and VI-1-32).

(2) मूत्राय कल्पते यवागूः उच्चाराय कल्पते यवान्नम् (M. B. under II-3-13).

(3) अतीसारो व्याधिः (M. B. under III-3-17).

His knowledge of architecture is seen from the following:

(1) कृतश्मश्रुश्च पुनः श्मश्रूणि कारयति (M. B. under VI-1-127).

1 पञ्चानां नदीनां समाहारः पञ्चनदं (*ibid* under IV-1-88).
पार्थः पञ्चनदे देशे बहुधान्यधनान्विते ।
चकार वासं सर्वस्य जनस्य मुनिसत्तम ॥ (*Viṣṇupurāṇa* V-38-12).

2, 3 & 4 (M. B. under I-2-49).

5 मद्रराजः (M. B. under IV-1-1).

6 पञ्चालांश्चरति (M. B. under III-2-16).

7 वैदेहः (M. B. under I-4-1).

8 & 9 काशिकोसलीयाः (M. B. under IV-1-54)

10 वैदर्भः (M. B. under I-4-1).

11 & 12 आङ्गकः, वाङ्गकः (M. B. under IV-3-120).

13 परित्रिगर्तं वृष्टो देवः (M. B. under VIII-1-5).

14 *Cf. Paspaśāhnika*.

15 M. B. under कम्बोजाल्लुक्.

16 अपिशलमधीते ब्राह्मणी—आपिशला ब्राह्मणी ... काशकृत्स्नीमधीते काशकृत्स्ना ब्राह्मणी (M. B. under IV-1-13).

17 M. B. under VI-1-157.

(2) शिल्पिविशेषाद्वा (M. B. under I-2-9).

(3) शिल्पिनः उत्पाद्यमानाः द्रव्यान्तरेण प्रक्षालयन्ति (M. B. under V-3-55).

His wide knowledge of the world is patent from the following:—

(1) कश्चित् कान्तारे समुपस्थिते सार्थमुपादत्ते; स यदा निष्कान्तकान्तारो भवति तदा सार्थं जहाति (M. B. under I-1-74).

(2) पाञ्चाला जनपदः सुभिक्षः सम्पन्नपानीयः बहुमाल्यफलः (ibid I-2-52).

(3) बदरी सूक्ष्मकण्टका मधुरा वृक्षः (ibid).

(4) समाने रक्ते वर्णे गौर्लोहित इति भवति अश्वः शोण इति; समाने च काले वर्णे गौः कृष्ण इति भवति अश्वो हेम इति; समाने च शुक्ले वर्णे गौः श्वेत इति भवति अश्वः कर्क इति (ibid I-2-71) and (II-2-29).

(5) गावः उत्कालितपुंस्का वाहाय च विक्रयाय च (ibid).

(6) साङ्काश्यकेभ्यः पाटलिपुत्रका अभिरूपतराः (ibid I-3-11 etc.)

(7) योऽयं दुर्बलः सन् बलवद्भिः सह भारं वहति (ibid).

(8) साङ्काश्यकेभ्यश्च पाटलिपुत्रकेभ्यश्च माथुरा अभिरूपतराः (ibid V-3-57)

(9) ग्रामादागच्छन् कांस्यपात्र्यां पाणिनौदनं भुङ्क्ते (ibid I-4-24).

(10) गोमयाद्वृश्चिको जायते, गोलोमाविलोमभ्यो दूर्वा जायन्ते (ibid I-4-30).

(11) कश्चित् कश्चिदामन्त्रयते 'सिद्धं भुज्यताम्' इति। स आमन्त्र्यमाण आह 'प्रभूतं भुक्तमस्माभिः' इति। आमन्त्र्यमाण आह 'दधि खलु भविष्यति, पयः खलु भविष्यति' इति। आमन्त्र्यमाण आह 'दध्ना खलु भुञ्जीय, पयसा खलु भुञ्जीय' इति (ibid I-4-49).

(12) इह य एष मनुष्यो दुःखार्तो भवति सोऽन्यानि दुःखान्यनुनिशम्य विषभक्षणमेव ज्यायो मन्यते। (ibid I-4-50).

(13) भिक्षुकोऽयं द्वितीयां भिक्षां समासाद्य पूर्वां न जहाति, सञ्चयायैव प्रवर्तते (*ibid* II-1-1).

(14) अवतप्ते नकुला न चिरं स्थातारो भवन्ति (*ibid* II-1-47).

(15) लोहितशालिमान् ग्रामः (*ibid* II-1-68).

(16) सर्वे मनुष्या अल्पेनाल्पेन महतो महतोऽर्थानाकाङ्क्षन्ति, एकेन माषेण शतसहस्रम् (*ibid*).

(17) समानमीहमानानाञ्चाधीयानानां च केचिदर्थैर्युज्यन्ते अपरे न (*ibid* II-2-6 etc.)

(18) कील आहन्यमानः प्रतिकीलं निर्हन्ति (*ibid* II-2-6 etc.)

(19) स्वं नाम चतुर्भिरेतत्प्रकारैर्भवति—क्रयणादपदहरणाद्याच्ञाया विनिमयादिति (*ibid* II-3-50.)

(20) अनस्थिकाः क्षुद्रजन्तवः । अथवा येषां स्वं शोणितं नास्ति ते क्षुद्रजन्तवः etc (*ibid* II-4-8).

(21) य एते दासाः कर्मकरा नाम, तेऽपि स्वभूत्यर्थमेव प्रवर्तन्ते, भक्तं चैलं च लप्स्यामहे परिभाषाश्च न नो भविष्यन्ति इति । तथा य एते शिल्पिनो नाम तेऽपि स्वभूत्यर्थमेव प्रवर्तन्ते वेतनं च लप्स्यामहे, मित्राणि च नो भविष्यन्ति इति (*ibid* III-1-26).

(22) शयाना वर्द्धते दूर्वा,... आसीनं वर्द्धते विसम् (*ibid* III-2-126).

(23) कश्चिदन्नार्थी शालिकलापं सतुषं सपलालमाहरति नान्तरीयकत्वात् । स यावदादेयम् तावदादाय तुषपलालान्युत्सृजति (*ibid* III-3-18).

(24) भोगवानयं देश इत्युच्यते यस्मिन् गावः सस्यानि च वर्तन्ते (*ibid* V-1-9).

(25) अश्वोऽयं यश्चत्वारि योजनानि गच्छति, अश्वतरोऽयं योऽष्टौ योजनानि गच्छति (*ibid* V-3-55).

(26) इह समाने आयामे विस्तारे च पटस्य अन्योऽर्घो भवति काशिकस्य अन्यो माथुरस्य (*ibid*).

(27) पटुरयं ब्राह्मण इत्युच्यते यो लघुनोपायेनार्थान् साधयति, पटुकल्पोऽयमित्युच्यते यो न तथा साधयति (*ibid* V-3-67).

(28) लोके ईश्वर आज्ञापयति! ग्रामाद्ग्रामान्मनुष्या आनीयन्तां प्राग्गङ्गं ग्रामेभ्यो ब्राह्मणा आनीयन्तामिति येषु तत्र ग्रामेषु ब्राह्मणा न सन्ति न तर्हीदानीं ततोऽन्यस्यानयनं भवति। (*ibid* VI-1-2).

(29) क्षीरोदके संपृक्ते आमिश्रत्वान्न ज्ञायते कियत्क्षीरं कियदुदकम् इति, कस्मिन्वावकाशे क्षीरं कस्मिन्नवकाशे उदकमिति, एवमिहाप्यामिश्रत्वान्न ज्ञायते का प्रकृतिः कः प्रत्ययः, कस्मिन्वावकाशे प्रकृतिः कस्मिन्नवकाशे प्रत्यय इति (*ibid* VI-1-9).

(30) लोके यो द्वयोस्तुल्यबलयोरेकः प्रेष्यो भवति स तयोः पर्यायेण कार्यं करोति; यदा तु तमुभौ युगपत्प्रेषयतो नानादिक्षु च कार्ये भवतस्तत्र यद्यसावविरोधार्थी भवति, तत उभयोर्न करोति (*ibid* VI-1-85).

(31) शतधारोऽयं मणिः (*ibid* VI-1-115).

(32) कश्चित् कंचित् तन्तुवायमाह 'अस्य सूत्रस्य शाटकं वय' (*ibid* II-1-51 etc.).

(33) गुरुणा शिष्यश्छत्रवच्छाद्यः शिष्येण च गुरुश्छत्रवत् परिपाल्यः (*ibid* IV-4-62).

(34) य आशु कर्तव्यानर्थांश्चिरेण करोति स उच्यते शीतक इति, यः पुनराशु कर्तव्यानर्थानाश्वेव करोति स उच्यते उष्णक इति (*ibid* V-2-72).

(35) नटानां स्त्रियो रङ्गगता यो यः पृच्छति कस्य यूयं कस्य यूयमिति तं तं तव तवेत्याहुः (*ibid* VI-1-2.)

(36) अब्राह्मणमानय इत्युक्ते ब्राह्मणसदृश एवानीयते, नासौ लोष्टमानीय कृती भवति (*ibid* III-1-12 etc.)

(37) हरिद्रौ कुक्कुटस्य पादौ, काषायौ गर्दभस्य कर्णौ (*ibid* IV-2-2.)

(38) अकुपिता अपि दृश्यन्ते दारकान्भर्त्सयमानाः (*ibid* VIII-1-8.)

(39) द्वयो रक्तयोर्वस्त्रयोर्मध्ये शुक्लं वस्त्रं तद्गुणमुपलभ्यते (*ibid* I-2-30.)

(40) वाताय कपिला विद्युदातपायातिलोहिनी।
पीता भवति सस्याय दुर्भिक्षाय सिता भवेत्॥ (*ibid* II-3-13.)

The following *nyāyas* and their applications also bear testimony to his knowledge of the world :—

(1) फलवता च नाम प्रयत्नेन भवितव्यम् (*Paspaśa*).
(Attempt should have its reward).

(2) यच्च पुनरशिष्टाप्रतिषिद्धं नैव तद्दोषाय नाभ्युदयाय (*ibid*).
(That which is neither enjoined nor prohibited brings neither de-merit if not done, nor merit if done).

(3) आम्राश्च सिक्ताः पितरश्च प्रीणिताः[1] (*ibid* M. B. under VIII-2-3).
(Mango trees are watered and the manes are satisfied).

(4) योऽस्ति स भविष्यति (M. B. under अइउण्).
(That which exists in this world will make its appearance).

(5) समाने चार्थे शास्त्रान्वितोऽशास्त्रान्वितस्य निवर्तको भवति (*ibid* under ऋलृक्).
(Though both convey the same meaning, the grammatically correct word enables us to avoid the use of the incorrect one).

(6) सैषा महतो वंशस्तम्बाल्लट्वानुकृष्यते (*ibid*).
(This is like catching a tiny bird from a cluster of tall bamboos).

(7) यत्र क्रियमाणे न दोषस्तत्र कर्तव्यम् (M. B. under एओङ् etc.)
(Operation should take place where arises no harm).

(8) ब्राह्मणा भोज्यन्तां माठरकौण्डिन्यौ परिवेविषाताम् (*ibid* under हयवरट्).
(Let brahmans be fed and let *Māṭhara* and *Kāuṇḍinya* serve).

(9) इतरेतराश्रयाणि च कार्याणि न प्रकल्पन्ते (*ibid* under I-1-1).
(Two inter-dependent things never happen).

1 तृप्ताः is another reading. *Pradīpa* under (VII-1-18).

(10) अतज्जातीयकं लोके व्यवधायकं भवति (*ibid* under I-1-7).
(Only a dissimilar thing can separate two similar things in the world).

(11) प्रासादवासिन्याय: (*ibid* under I-1-8.)
(The *nyāya* of the resident on the top-floor. (*i. e.*) The resident of both the top-floor and the ground-floor will be included both among the residents of the top-floor and among those of the ground-floor.)

(12) न हि भिक्षुकास्सन्तीति स्थाल्यो नाधिश्रीयन्ते, न च मृगास्सन्तीति यवा नोप्यन्ते (*ibid* I-1-41, IV-1-1 and VI-1-13.)
(Cooking is not avoided fearing the beggars nor is *yava* not sown fearing animals.)

(13) दधि ब्राह्मणेभ्यो दीयतां, तक्रं कौण्डिन्याय (*ibid* I-1-47, VI-1-2, VI-4-163 and VII-1-72.)
(Let curd be given to brahmans and butter-milk to *Kāuṇḍinya.*)

(14) नष्टाश्वदग्धरथन्याय: (*ibid* I-1-51.)
(The *nyāya* of the dead horse and the burnt chariot:— when two chariots go on a race and if the horse of one falls dead and the other chariot is burnt down, the horse of the one chariot is yoked to the other unburnt chariot.)

(15) माषा न भोक्तव्या इत्युक्ते मिश्रा अपि न भुज्यन्ते (*ibid.*)
(If it is enjoined that black gram should not be eaten, the mixture of black gram with others too is not eaten.)

(16) यो यस्य प्रसङ्गे भवति, लभते असौ तत्कार्याणि (*ibid* I-1-56.)
(The acting man gets the work of the permanent man.)

(17) सामान्ये अतिदिश्यमाने विशेषो नातिदिष्टो भवति (*ibid.*)
(Application of general characteristics through analogy does not comprehend the special characteristics.)

(18) अभ्यन्तरो हि समुदायस्यावयव: (*ibid.*)
(Part is included in the whole.)

(19) एकेन यत्नेनोभयं लभ्यम् (*ibid* I-1-59.)

(Strike two birds at one shot.)

(20) अपि काकः श्येनायते ? (*ibid* I-2-45.)

(Can a crow become a kite ?)

(21) आम्रान् पृष्टः कोविदारानाचष्टे (*ibid.*)

(Being questioned about a square, you answer about a circle.)

(22) न हि गोधा सर्पन्ती सर्पणादहिर्भवति (*ibid* I-3-12.)

(Can a lizard become a serpent though with similar movement ?)

(23) अवयवे कृतं लिङ्गं समुदायस्य विशेषकं भवति यं समुदायं योऽवयवो न व्यभिचरति (*ibid* I-3-62 and III-1-5.)

(Mark in a limb becomes a differentiating factor of the whole if that limb is an indispensable element of the whole.)

(24) कृतो घटः घटाश्रयाणां कार्याणां निमित्तं भवति, न क्रियमाणः (*ibid* III-1-3).

(Pot made is the source of deeds relating to a pot and not a pot to be made).

(25) सन्नियोगशिष्टानामन्यतरापाये उभयोरप्यपायः (*ibid* IV-1-36 and V-1-66.)

(Injunction to two conjointly loses its hold when either disappears).

(26) यो हि भुक्तवन्तं ब्रूयान्मा भुक्था इति किं तेन कृतं स्यात्? (*ibid* VI-1-37.)

(What is the use of asking one not to eat when he has already eaten ?)

(27) कुम्भीधान्यन्यायः (*ibid* I-3-7).

(*Nyāya* of pot-grain—'He who has grain only in a pot can be called कुम्भीधान्य and not one who has grain elsewhere also).

(28) दण्डिन्यायः (*ibid* VIII-2-83).

(*Nyāya* of man with a stick—whenever the man is referred to, he should have a stick in his hand).

(29) अभिवर्धमानो गर्भः सर्वाङ्गपरिपूर्णो भवति (*ibid* VIII-2-106). (Embryo, when it grows, grows on all sides).

Patañjali has also been pleased to frame and use the following *paribhāṣās* :—

(1) व्याख्यानतो विशेषप्रतिपत्तिर्न—हि सन्देहादलक्षणम् (*Paspaśa* etc.)

(A *śāstraic* statement, if not clearly understood, should not be thrown away, but should be understood through commentaries).

(2) असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे (M. B. under एओङ् etc.)

(*Bahiraṅgaśāstra* is non-existent before an *antaraṅgaśāstra*).

(3) निर्दिश्यमानस्य आदेशा भवन्ति (*ibid* हयवरट्).

(*Ādēśas* replace only those that are mentioned).

(4) कार्यकालं संज्ञापरिभाषम् (*ibid* I-1-5).

(*Saṁjñā-sūtras* and *Paribhāṣā-sūtras* appear on the scene of operation).

(5) यथोद्देशं संज्ञापरिभाषम् (*ibid* I-1-11.)

(*Saṁjñā-sūtras* and *Paribhāṣā-sūtras* operate without leaving their respective position.)

(6) लक्षणप्रतिपदोक्तयोः प्रतिपदोक्तस्यैव ग्रहणम् (*ibid* I-1-14 etc.)

(Word mentioned has preference to word got from *lakṣaṇa*.)

(7) अर्थवद्ग्रहणेन नानर्थकस्य ग्रहणम् (*ibid*.)

(If one conveys meaning in one way of interpretation and no meaning in another, the former has preference.)

(8) गौणमुख्ययोः मुख्ये कार्यसंप्रत्ययः (*ibid* I-1-15.)

(Operation should take place on the primary and not on the secondary one.)

(9) अर्थात् प्रकरणाद्वा कृत्रिमाकृत्रिमयोः कृत्रिमे कार्यसम्प्रत्ययः (*ibid* I-1-23 etc.)

(Action to proceed on the *kṛtrima* (newly made) and not on *akṛtrima* (natural) decided through meaning or context.)

(10) पुरस्तादपवादाः अनन्तरान् विधीन् बाधन्ते नोत्तरान् (*ibid* I-1-28.)

(Rules of exceptions mentioned previously affect those that immediately follow them and not those which are further away.)

(11) अन्तरङ्गानपि विधीन् बहिरङ्गो विधिर्बाधते (*ibid* I-1-29.)

(*Bahiraṅga* rules sometimes overrule *antaraṅga* rules.)

(12) भाव्यमानेन सवर्णानां ग्रहणं न (*ibid* I-1-50 etc.)

(A letter taught in a rule cannot refer to those homogeneous with it.)

(13) स्वरविधौ व्यञ्जनमविद्यमानवत् (*ibid* I-1-51.)

(Consonant is non-existent when rules concerning sonants operate.)

(14) नानुबन्धकृतमनेकाल्त्वम् (*ibid* I-1-55.)

(*Anubandha* is not a factor to decide polysyllabism.)

(15) सकृद्गतौ विप्रतिषेधे यद्बाधितं तद् बाधितमेव (*ibid* I-1-56.)

(When two rules conflict with each other, the one, defeated after its first operation, is defeated for ever.)

(16) वर्णाश्रये नास्ति प्रत्ययलक्षणम् (*ibid* I-1-58.)

(Rule relating to a suffix does not operate when a rule relating to a letter has to operate.)

(17) अन्यत्र वर्णग्रहणे जातिग्रहणं भवति (*ibid* I-2-41.)
(Letters refer to genus except when rules relating to the number of syllables operate.)

(18) अनन्तरस्य विधिर्वा भवति प्रतिषेधो वा (*ibid* I-2-48 etc.)
(*Vidhi* (enjoining) or *pratiṣēdha* (prohibition) refers to what is nearest).

(19) नानुबन्धकृतमसारूप्यम् (*ibid* I-3-9).
(Likeness is not affected between two letters though they have different *anubandhas* attached to them).

(20) विकरणेभ्यो नियमो बलीयान् (*ibid* I-3-60.)
(*Niyama-vidhi* is more powerful than conjugational signs.)

(21) तदेकदेशभूतं तद्ग्रहणेन गृह्यते (*ibid* I-4-13.)
(Its part is made to denote it.)

(22) अवयवविधौ सामान्यविधिर्न भवति (*ibid* II-2-3).
(General rule does not operate when rules for parts are enjoined.)

(23) कृद्ग्रहणे गतिकारकपूर्वस्यापि ग्रहणम् (*ibid* IV-1-48.)
(*Kṛt* affix denotes the word ending with it together with the *gati* or the noun denoting a case-relation which may be prefixed to it).

(24) मध्येऽपवादाः पूर्वान्विधीन् बाधन्ते (*ibid* IV-1-55.)
(Rules of exception in the middle affect those which precede).

Patañjali was aware of the different dialects of Sanskrit.[1] He gives different readings in one *sūtra*.[2]

1 शवतिर्गतिकर्मा कम्बोजेष्वेव भाषितो भवति । विकार एनमार्या भाषन्ते शव इति । हम्मतिः सुराष्ट्रेषु, रंहतिः प्राच्यमध्येषु, गमिमेव त्वार्याः प्रयुञ्जते । दातिर्लवनार्थे प्राच्येषु, दात्रमुदीच्येषु (*Paspaśa*).

2 उभयथा ह्याचार्येण शिष्याः सूत्रं प्रतिपादिताः । केचिदाकडारादेका संज्ञा इति, केचित् प्राक्कडारात्परं कार्यम् इति (M. B. under I-4-1).

He defines -वृत्ति as परार्थाभिधानम् and classifies it into two:-

जहत्स्वार्था वृत्तिः and अजहत्स्वार्था वृत्तिः (M. B. under II-1-1)

He mentions the nature of स्फोट in:—

स्फोटः शब्दः ध्वनिः शब्दगुणः (M. B. under I-1-70.)

and the word स्फोट in स्फोटमात्रं निर्दिश्यते (M. B. under. एओङ्.)

He recognises four *pramāṇas* as is seen from

प्रत्यक्षेण खल्वपि स विरुध्यते (M. B. under IV-1-3.)

प्रत्यक्षस्तेनाग्निधूमयोरभिसम्बन्धः कृतो भवति, त्रिविष्टब्धकपरिव्राजकयोश्च (*ibid* III-2-124.)

क्रिया नामेयमत्यन्तापरिदृष्टा सासावनुमानगम्या (*ibid* III-2-115)

उपमानात्सिद्धम् (*ibid* IV-1-33.)

वचनप्रामाण्यात् (*ibid* I-3-9.)

शब्दप्रमाणका वयम् (*ibid* II-1-1 etc.)

He recognises that *Pāṇini's* grammar deals with words found in all *Vēdas*.

Cf. सर्ववेदपारिषदं हीदं शास्त्रम् (M. B. under VI-3-14.)

His keen knowledge of all the four *Vēdas*, *Dharmasūtras*, *Śrāutasūtras*, *Gṛhyasūtras*, *Itihāsas*, *Purāṇas*, *Pūrvamīmāṁsāsūtra* and *Nyāyasūtra* and his intimate knowledge of *Śrāutakarma* and *Smārttakarma* are patent from the profuse quotations he gives from them. It is elaborately dealt with by Prabhat Candra Cakravarti in the Indian Historical Quarterly Vol. II. His mention of यावक्रीतिकः, प्रैयङ्गविकः, यायातिकः, and वासवदत्तिकः, सौमनोत्तरिकः, ऐतिहासिकः, पौराणिकः under IV-2-60 shows that before him *Ākhyānas*, *Ākhyāyikās*, *Purāṇa* and *Itihāsas* were studied by separate sets of people. His mention of जघान कंसं किल वासुदेवः under the question प्रयोक्तुर्दर्शनविषये इति किमर्थम्? under (III-2-111) tells us that he witnessed the story of *Kaṁsa-vadha* enacted before him. He also says कंसवधमाचष्टे, बलिबन्धमाचष्टे under III-1-26. His statement वाररुचं काव्यम्,

जाल्का: श्लोका: under IV-3-104 throws light on the existence of *Kāvyas* in his time. The conversation described between a *vāiyākaraṇa* and a *sūta* under II-4-56 and the expression न त्विष्टिः clearly tell us that Sanskrit was a spoken language and *Patañjali* makes his readers understand thro' the conversation that the practice of telling इष्टि was prevalent before the time of *Patañjali*.

The expression कथं पुनरतस्मिन् स इत्येतद्भवति? चतुर्भिः प्रकारैरतस्मिन् स इत्येतद्भवति, तात्स्थ्यात् ताद्धर्म्यात् तत्सामीप्यात् तत्साहचर्यादिति under IV-I-48 and the expression किं योऽयः शूलेनान्विच्छति स आयःशूलिकः । किं चातः? । शिवभागवते प्राप्नोति under V-2-76 suggest that *Patañjali* was an *advāitin* and his *upāsyadevatā* was *Śiva*.[1]

METHOD ADOPTED IN WRITING BHĀṢYA

Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita, Prof. Goldstucker, Prof. Keilhorn and others consider that *Mahābhāṣya* is a commentary on *Kātyāyana's Vārttikas*.[2] But the author of *Śabdakalpadruma* says, परं पतञ्जलिः सूत्रपाठस्य वार्तिकस्य च महाभाष्यं विधाय सर्वतः प्रमादपरिशून्योऽयं पाणिनीयाष्टाध्यायीग्रन्थ इति प्रदर्शयन् कात्यायनतीव्रदृष्टेः ररक्षैनं समादरणीयं ग्रन्थमुत्तमम्. From the tabular statement in p. i it can be seen that out of about 4000 *sūtras* found in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, about 1700 came to the purview of the *Mahābhāṣya*. Of them about 1200 have under them the *vārttikas*

1 *Cf. Patañjali* seems to have been an *Advāitavādin* belonging probably to the *Advāita* set of *Śāiva* religion (The Indian Historical Quarterly II pp. 270-271 and Indian Antiquary Vol. XLI p. 272.)

2 भोगीन्द्र तेषां भुवि वार्तिकानामशेषविद्वज्जनदुर्ग्रहाणाम् ।
भाष्यं महत्कुर्विति भक्तरक्षी नियोक्ष्यते त्वां किल नीलकण्ठः ॥ (1-63.)

Mahābhāṣya ...a critical discussion on the *Vārttikas* of *Kātyāyana*; while its *ishṭis*, on the other hand, are original *vārttikas* on such *sūtras* of *Pāṇini* as called for his own remarks. (*Pāṇini*—His place in Sanskrit Literature p. 92.)

The *Mahābhāṣya* is, in the first instance, a commentary on *Kātyayana's Vārttikas*. (*Kātyāyana* and *Patañjali* p. 51.)

of one *Vārttikakāra*, about 25 have under them the *vārttikas* of two or more *Vārttikakāras* and about 425 have no *vārttikas* but only *bhāṣya*, (i.e.) about one fourth of the book deals with the interpretation of *Bhāṣyakāra* on the *sūtras*. Even in *sūtras* which have *vārttikas*[1] under them, there are certain topics like तद्भावितग्रहण in वृद्धिरादैच् which are *Patañjali's* own. Even among *Śivasūtras*, ञमङणनम् and झभञ् have no *vārttikas* under them. Among 1200 *sūtras* which have *vārttikas*, the *vārttikas* under about 700 are simply explanatory. *Patañjali* begins with a lucid commentary on the *vārttikas* more than half of which is in the form of *pūrvapakṣavārttikas* and *siddhāntavārttikas*. Whenever he differs from the opinion of the *Vārttikakāra* or *Vārttikakāras*, he appends his views at the end. *Patañjali* almost always agrees with *Vārttikakāras* whenever they deal with the change of words morphologically and semantically. He sometimes refutes the amendment of *Kātyāyana* through the instrument of *yōgavibhāga* introduced by *Kātyāyana* himself. He gives his own *iṣṭis* and makes very good use of the devices discovered by *Kātyāyana*. The spirit of independent thought combined with keen critical acumen and consummate scholarship pervades the whole of the *Mahābhāṣya*.[2]

DATES OF PATAÑJALI, KĀTYĀYANA AND PĀṆINI

From the expressions पुष्यमित्रो यजते (under III-2-26), पुष्यमित्रं याजयामः (under III-2-123), पुष्यमित्रसभा (under I-1-69), अरुणद्यवनः साकेतम्, अरुणद्यवनो मध्यमिकाम् (under III-2-111) scholars like Dr. Bhandarkar, Prof. Goldstucker have concluded that *Patañjali* should have been at the court of *Puṣyamitra* and lived at the time of Menander's invasion of *Sāketa* and hence could not have lived later than 150 B.C. *Kātyāyana's* date is considered to be about 350 B.C. *Pāṇini* is taken by

2 *Vārtika* and *Vārtikakāra* found in the early part of the book may be corrected to *Vārttika* and *Vārttikakāra*.

2 *Cf*. *Pāṇini*—His place in Sanskrit Literature p. 92.

Prof. Max-Muller and other scholars to be a contemporary of *Kātyāyana*, while Prof. Goldstucker thinks that he should have lived long before *Kātyāyana*. 150 B. C., 350 B. C. and 550 B. C. may, for the present, be taken as the approximate dates of *Patañjali*, *Kātyāyana* and *Pāṇini*.

I express my heartfelt thanks to the Syndicate of the Annamalai University and to the two Vice-Chancellors Rai Bahadur K. V. Reddi Naidu Garu, K. C. I. E., and Mr. M. Ruthnaswamy, C. I. E., for having permitted this publication. I offer my *praṇāmas* to my *ācārya Mahāmahōpādhyāya* Professor S. Kuppuswami Sastriar for having gone through the Text and the Preface critically in spite of his weak health and for his Foreword. I am deeply indebted to *Śāstraratnākara* K. A. Sivaramakrishna Sastriar of the Sanskrit Department of this University for having gone through all the proofs and for having given me valuable suggestions. My thanks are also due to Sri R. Sathianatha Ayyar M. A., Lecturer in History who suggested to me to look into the observations of Chinese travellers on *Pāṇini* and to Sri A. V. Nagaraja Sarma B. A., (Hon.) and Sri C. S. Venkateswaran B. A. (Hon.) of the Sanskrit Department of this University for having helped me in going through proofs.

May Lord *Naṭarāja* and Lord *Paśupatīśa* enable me to complete the work I have undertaken—Lectures on the whole of the *Mahābhāṣya*!

Annamalainagar,
1—7—1943.

P. S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI.

LECTURES ON PATAÑJALI'S MAHĀBHĀṢYA

महाभाष्यं वा पठनीयं, महाराज्यं वा पालनीयम्
ओं नमः पाणिनिकात्यायनपतञ्जलिमहर्षिभ्यो वंशगुरुभ्यो नमो गुरुभ्यः

INTRODUCTION

IT is now an accepted fact that Grammar follows Literature. The earliest Indian Literature is the Vedas. The Indians considered it their primary duty to preserve them intact. One of the means of preservation was the writing of Grammar and its study. *Cf.*

रक्षार्थं वेदानाम् अध्येयं व्याकरणम् (M. B. I. 1, 1)

That there were nine systems of Grammar is evident from the verse

सोऽयं नवव्याकरणार्थवेत्ता ब्रह्मा भविष्यत्यपि ते प्रसादात्
(U. R. 36, 48).

wherein it is said that Hanūmān, the minister of Sugrīva, had a mastery over nine treatises on Grammar. Of them Pāṇini's treatise seems to be the last since Hanūmān is said to have studied *Saṅgraha*, an elaborate work written by *Vyāḍi* in hundred thousand verses based on Pāṇini's Grammar. *Cf.*

ससूत्रवृत्त्यर्थपदं महार्थं ससङ्ग्रहं साध्यति वै कपीन्द्रः
(U. R. 36, 46).

A grammatical treatise by Indra is mentioned in tradition to have been the first of the nine; but such a treatise does

not seem to have been mentioned of in any work. The only reference to Indra's being connected with Grammar is found in Mahābhāṣya, where it is said that Indra attempted in vain to make a detailed study, in 1000 divine years, of all the words current, at the feet of the preceptor of the devas.

बृहस्पतिरिन्द्राय दिव्यं वर्षसहस्रं प्रतिपदोक्तानां शब्दानां शब्दपारायणं प्रोवाच, न चान्तं जगाम । बृहस्पतिश्च प्रवक्ता, इन्द्रश्च अध्येता, दिव्यं वर्षसहस्रम् अध्ययन-कालः ॥*

(M. B. I. 1, 1).

The revered Pāṇini wrote his work in *eight* chapters of *four* pādas, each in the form of sūtras. Sūtras are short sentences, unambiguous, clear and comprehensive. *Cf.*

अल्पाक्षरमसन्दिग्धं सारवद्विश्वतोमुखम् ।
अस्तोभमनवद्यं च सूत्रं सूत्रविदो विदुः ॥

The invaluable service done by Pāṇini to Sanskrit can well be appreciated only by a close study of his work. The division of his work into two parts, the former comprising the first seven chapters and the first pāda of the last and the latter, the last three pādas of the last, is an art by itself. The sūtras of the latter part are said to be non-existent when those of the former part operate *Cf.*

* It may be noted that (1) in the Foreword to Tolkāppiyam, the earliest extant Tamil Grammar, we find the statement "*Aintiram niṟainta Tolkāppiyaṉ.*" (Tolkāppiyaṉ well-versed in *Aindra*) and (2) under sūtra 74 of collatikāram, Cēṉāvaraiyar says "*Aintiranūlār viḷi-vēṟṟumaiyai eṭṭām-vēṟṟumaiyāka nērntār*" (*The author of the Aindra called the vocative case, the eighth case*).

पूर्वत्रासिद्धम् (P. VIII 2, 1.)

His work was commented upon in an elaborate treatise consisting of 100000 verses, by Vyāḍi who was said by my revered guru to have been the grandson of Pāṇini. It was named *Saṅgraha*. Unfortunately the work seems to have been lost. We get only stray references to it. *Cf.*

सङ्ग्रहे एतत्प्राधान्येन परीक्षितं नित्यो वा स्यात्कार्यो वेति ।
(M. B. I. 1, 1).

Later on, a large number of grammarians commented upon the sūtras of Pāṇini. Their works were called *Vārtikas*. They have not only elucidated the views of Pāṇini, but also added the explanation of words which became newly current in their times and rejected those that fell out of use. *Cf.*

उक्तानुक्तदुरुक्तानां चिन्ता यत्र प्रवर्तते ।
तं ग्रन्थं वार्तिकं प्राहुः वार्तिकज्ञा मनीषिणः ॥

It is a sad feature that the names of all of them except one are not now known to us. He is *Kātyāyana* by *Gotra* and *Vararuci* by name. It is a matter for research whether he is himself the author of the Śrāuta sūtras, *Sarvānukramaṇī* etc., or different from him.

Then came Patañjali who is believed by the *āstikas* to have been the incarnation of Ādiśēṣa. He wrote his Mahābhāṣya which is an elaborate treatise dealing with discussions on many of the sūtras of Pāṇini and the vārtikas of the different Vārtikakāras. It is not only a commentary on the sūtras and the vārtikas, but also a critical treatise discussing on the necessity of the above sūtras and vārtikas. He shows that some of the sūtras are not necessary and that their purpose is served by Jñāpakas. He sometimes

disagrees with the criticism of the Vārtikakāras against Pāṇini and establishes with forcible arguments the views of Pāṇini. *Cf.*

सूत्रार्थो वर्ण्यते यत्र वाक्यैः सूत्रानुसारिभिः ।
स्वपदानि च वर्ण्यन्ते भाष्यं भाष्यविदो विदुः ॥

The method adopted by him in his arguments is very fine. He proves his point by analogy with *nyāyas* current in the world.

When there are *bhāṣyas* for all śāstras, why should the bhāṣya of Vyākaraṇa alone be called Mahābhāṣya? This question is answered, by Bhartṛhari and Puṇyarāja, the commentator on Bhartṛhari's Vākyapadīya, that it is not only a treatise on Grammar, but also the fountain-source of all *nyāyas.*

कृतेऽथ पतञ्जलिना गुरुणा तीर्थदर्शिना ।
सर्वेषां न्यायबीजानां महाभाष्ये निबन्धने ॥ (V. II 485)

तच्च भाष्यं न केवलं व्याकरणस्य निबन्धनं यावत्सर्वेषां न्यायबीजानां बोद्धव्यमित्यत एव सर्वन्यायबीजहेतुत्त्वादेव महच्छब्देन विशेष्य महाभाष्यमित्युच्यते लोके
(P. II 485).

Nāgeśabhaṭṭa, the renowned all-round veteran scholar of the seventeenth century answers the same question thus:—It is not only a commentary, but also a criticism on the sūtras and vārtikas, wherein he gives his own views though they do not agree with those of the Sūtrakāra and Vārtikakāras. *Cf.*

व्याख्यातृत्वेऽपि अस्य इष्ट्यादिकथनेन अन्वाख्यातृत्वात् इतरभाष्यवैलक्षण्येन महत्त्वम् (M. B. I, 1, 1.)

The Mahābhāṣya was used to be read by orthodox Indian grammarians in the same way as the Vedāntabhāṣyas. The *śānti* that was recited at the beginning was—

वाक्यकारं वररुचिं भाष्यकारं पतञ्जलिम् ।
पाणिनिं सूत्रकारञ्च प्रणतोऽस्मि मुनित्रयम् ॥
योगेन चित्तस्य पदेन वाचां मलं शरीरस्य च वैद्यकेन ।
योऽपाकरोत्तं प्रवरं मुनीनां पतञ्जलिं प्राञ्जलिरानतोऽस्मि ॥

From this it is evident that, according to tradition, Patañjali was the author of not only the Mahābhāṣya but also the Yogasūtra and a work on Indian medicine.

Some seem to doubt the identity of the author of the Yogasūtra with that of Mahābhāṣya since Vyāsa is said to be the commentator of the Yogasūtra and he is identical with the author of the Vedāntasūtras. Since there is no conclusive proof for the identity of the two Vyāsas, it may be taken that Vyāsa, the commentator on the Yogasūtra was different from the Bādarāyaṇa Vyāsa and the two Patañjalis are identical.

The study of the Mahābhāṣya was closed on the dvādaśī with *Maṅgalapāṭha* (since Pāṇini is believed to have left this world on the *trayōdaśī*) and commenced again on the *dvitīyā*. On the maṅgalapāṭha day mustard and curd were offered to the three munis Pāṇini, Vararuci and Patañjali.

The Sanskrit scholars had so much regard to Mahābhāṣya that they said

महाभाष्यं वा पठनीयं, महाराज्यं वा पालनीयम्

पस्पशाह्निकम्

The sūtras found in the *first* pāda of the first adhyāya of Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī are discussed along with the vārtikas in nine *āhnikas*. The first *āhnika* is named *paspaśāhnika*. This name should have been at least as old as the time of Māgha since he mentions this in one of his verses in the Śiśupālavadha. *Cf:*

अनुत्सूत्रपदन्यासा सद्वृत्तिः सन्निबन्धना ।
शब्दविद्येव नो भाति राजनीतिरपस्पशा ॥ (Śi. II 112)

The word पस्पशा is derived from the root स्पश् which means to refute or to touch upon. This *āhnika* refutes the arguments of others and touches upon the preliminaries of the śāstra. The second *āhnika* is named प्रत्याहाराह्निक since it deals with the *pratyāhāra* sūtras अइउण्, ऋलृक्, एओङ्, etc. From the third *āhnika* onwards discussions on the sūtras commencing with वृद्धिरादैच् are found.

The topics dealt with in the first *āhnika* are (1) the commencement of the *Sāstra*, (2) the classification of words, (3) the definition of *S'abda*, (4) the use of the study of this śāstra, (5) the method to be adopted in expounding the śāstra, (6) the *nityatva* (eternity) or the *kāryatva* (transitoriness) of śabda, (7) the need for the śāstra on account of its expounding that correct words are needed for *Dharma*, (8) the meaning of the word व्याकरणम् and (9) the need for making use of the pratyāhāra sūtras अइउण् etc., in this śāstra.

I

अथ शब्दानुशासनम् । अथेत्ययं शब्दोऽधिकारार्थः प्रयुज्यते, शब्दानुशासनं नाम शास्त्रमधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् ॥

The expression 'अथ शब्दानुशासनम्' is a sūtra-like sentence of the Mahābhāṣyakāra and it is explained by the following sentences

अथेत्ययं शब्द: अधिकारार्थ: प्रयुज्यते—शब्दानुशासनं नाम शास्त्रमधिकृतं वेदितव्यम्

It means 'the *S'abdānuśāsanam* commenceth.': The *S'abdānuśāsanam* means the science wherein the derivation of words is explained.

What is the meaning of the word अथ here? Its meanings are stated by the author of Amarakośa thus:

मङ्गलानन्तरारम्भप्रश्नकार्त्स्न्येष्वथो अथ

Here it means आरम्भः (commencement). Then arises the question whether the word अथ *denotes* commencement or *suggests* it, i. e., in other words, whether the word अथ is आरम्भवाचक or आरम्भद्योतक. Kaiyaṭa the author of the प्रदीप on महाभाष्य, and Bhaṭṭōji Dīkṣit, the author of the Siddhānta-kāumudi, Manōrama, Śabdakāustubha etc., hold the former view and Nāgeśabhaṭṭa, the author of the *Uddyōta* on Mahābhāṣya holds the latter view. The authorities for Nāgeśa's view are the kārikā of Bhartṛhari

निपाता द्योतका: केचित्पृथगर्थाभिधायिन: ।
आगमा इव केऽपि स्यु: सम्भूयार्थस्य वाचका: ॥ (V. II 194)

and the भाष्य under the sūtra

अव्ययं विभक्ति समीप.........साकल्यान्तवचनेषु (P. II 1.6)

When the word अथ in 'अथातो धर्मजिज्ञासा', 'अथातो ब्रह्मजिज्ञासा' means आनन्तर्यम् (immediate succession), why should not the same word have the same meaning here? धर्मविचार invariably requires the knowledge of the Vedas and hence it

follows the study of the Vedas. Similarly ब्रह्मविचार must invariably be preceded by the possession of four requisites :- नित्यानित्यवस्तुविवेकः (discriminating the eternal from the non-eternal), इहामुत्रार्थफलभोगविरागः (averseness from enjoyment here or elsewhere), शमदमादिसम्पत् (control of the senses etc.) and मुमुक्षुत्वम् (desire to be relieved of this bondage of mortal life). Hence अथ there has to be taken to mean 'immediate succession.' But, on the other hand, the study of Grammar does not invariably need anything before it. One may doubt the veracity of this statement since the knowledge of literature is considered necessary before one begins to study Grammar. Though it is right to think so, yet he should be made to remember that it is not always the case.

If the word अथ suggests commencement, one may think that it may be discarded since the word शब्दानुशासनम् alone may suggest it. This is answered by Kāiyaṭa thus—

अनेकक्रियाविषयस्यापि शब्दानुशासनस्य प्रारभ्यमाणता अथशब्दसन्निधाने प्रतीयते

(The use of the word śabdānuśāsanam alone may enable one to interpret it as śabdānuśāsanam *śrūyatē*, *kriyatē* etc.) The word अथ shows that it means शब्दानुशासनमारभ्यते. If one thinks that the above doubt may be cleared by the expression अधिकृतं in the विवरणभाष्य, he may be answered that the word अथ not only serves this purpose but also indicates another meaning.

It indicates auspiciousness (*maṅgala*). It has been the practice of Indian writers to invoke the blessings of God at the commencement of their work so that the work may see its end without any difficulty. This is done either by writing verses in the form of prayer or by using word or words that indicate it. Just as the sound of drums indicates

the marriage in a house, so also the word *atha* is taken to indicate *maṅgala* since it is considered to be one of the two words that first emanated from the mouth of *Brahmā*, the Creator. *Cf.*

ओंकारश्चाथशब्दश्च द्वावेतौ ब्रह्मणः पुरा ।
कण्ठं भित्त्वा विनिर्यातौ तस्मान्माङ्गलिकावुभौ ॥

The reason why Patañjali indicated *maṅgala* without actually giving expression to it in the form of prayer may be that Pāṇini, the Sūtrakāra and Vararuci, the Vārtikakāra have *indicated* maṅgala and not *expressed* it by the words वृद्धिः and सिद्धे respectively in the first sūtra वृद्धिरादैच् and the first vārtika

सिद्धे शब्दार्थसम्बन्धे लोकतोऽर्थप्रयुक्ते शब्दप्रयोगे शास्त्रेण धर्मनियमः

It was stated that the expression

अथेत्ययं शब्दोऽधिकारार्थः प्रयुज्यते, शब्दानुशासनं नाम शास्त्रमधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् is विवरणभाष्यम्. The word इति is used here so that the word *atha* here means the *word* and not its *meaning*. *Cf.*

इतिशब्दः पदार्थविपर्यासकृत्.

When one says रामः रावणं जघान, the word *Rāmaḥ* means the *person* Rāma ; but, on the other hand, if one says

राम इति तस्य नाम

the word Rāma means the *word* Rāma made up of the two letters रा and म.

Since Pāṇini, the Sūtrakāra has stated in his sūtra

स्वं रूपं शब्दस्याशब्दसंज्ञा (P. I 1, 68)

(that in his work a word means its *form* and not its *meaning*) and since the Mahābhāṣya is a work on grammar, one may think that the word '*iti*' in the *Vivaraṇa bhāṣhya* is not necessary. But Patañjali by his use of *iti* here suggests that Pāṇini's tenet

स्वं रूपं शब्दस्याशब्दसंज्ञा

does not hold good here.

The use of the word *ayam* after the word *iti* is to make the readers think of *atha* in the preceding sentence *atha śabdānuśāsanam* and not elsewhere as in *atha yogānuśāsanam*. Patañjali is not sparing in words. Though the word *śabda* is not necessary since the word *iti* suggests that *atha* denotes the *word atha*, he has used it so that it may be easily understood by the readers.

The word *adhikāra* means commencement. The derivation of *śabdānuśāsanam* is *śabdānām anuśāsanam* and that of *anuśāsanam* is

अनुशिष्यन्ते, असाधुशब्देभ्यो विविच्य ज्ञाप्यन्ते, साधुशब्दाः अनेन

The suffix *ana* in *śabdānuśāsanam* denotes instrument and hence the word *śabdānuśāsanam* means Grammar. The use of the sixth case in *śabdānām anuśāsanam* is on the authority of the sūtra

कर्तृकर्मणोः कृति (P. II. 3. 65)

and not **उभयप्राप्तौ कर्मणि**, since otherwise the samāsa *śabdānuśāsanam* would be prevented by the sūtra **कर्मणि च**.

Hence the sentence *atha śabdānuśāsanam* means 'the Grammar commenceth'. Its statement instead of *Vyā-*

karaṇaśāstram ārabhyatē serves the following purposes: (1) *maṅgalam* is indicated by *atha* (2) *śabda* is the *viṣaya* (topic for discussion) in this work (3) the knowledge of the derivation of *śabda* by the readers is the aim of this work and (4) those who are eager to learn Grammar are fit to study it.

Readers can completely comprehend the meaning of the sentence *atha śabdānuśāsanam* only if they are fully aware of the connotation and the denotation of the words which make it up. The meaning of *atha* has been explained by the Bhāṣyakāra himself and the meaning of *anuśāsanam* is learnt from the meaning of the root *śās* which is found in the *dhātupāṭha* and the meaning of the suffix *ana* from the sūtra.

करणाधिकरणयोश्च (P. III, 3, 117).

But neither the denotation nor the connotation of *śabda* is clear to the reader. Hence Mahābhāṣyakāra goes to the next topic which deals with the classification of *śabda*.

II

केषां शब्दानाम्? लौकिकानां वैदिकानाञ्च। तत्र लौकिकास्तावत्, गौरश्वः पुरुषो हस्ती शकुनिर्मृगो ब्राह्मण इति। वैदिकाः खल्वपि—शन्नो देवीरभिष्टये; इषे त्वोर्जे त्वा; अग्निमीळे पुरोहितम्; अग्न आयाहि वीतये इति ॥

Of which *śabdas*? Of those current in the world and in the Vedas. Among them the *lāukika* śabdas are गौः (cow), अश्वः (horse), पुरुषः (person), हस्ती (elephant), शकुनिः (bird), मृगः (deer), ब्राह्मणः (brāhmaṇa) etc. The *Vāidika śabdas* are शन्नो देवीरभिष्टये [Let the waters bring us happiness (so that we may perform sacrifice)]; इषे त्वोर्जे त्वा [(I cut) you for food and vitality]; अग्निमीळे पुरोहितम् (I invoke Agni, the divine priest);

अग्न आयाहि वीतये । (Oh Agni, go over here to consume the oblations).

What is the need for this question केषां शब्दानाम्? Kāiyaṭa and Nāgōji Bhaṭṭa differ in their answer on this point. The former is of opinion that since the word *śabda* denotes not only the words of human speech but also cries of birds, animals etc., Mahābhāṣyakāra wants to inform the readers clearly that it denotes only speech-words here. In that case one may think that the answer मनुजशब्दानाम् would have been more appropriate. Had that answer been given, it may not make the readers understand clearly that *śabda* denotes Vāidika expressions also and it may even enable them to mistake that *śabda* denotes *apaśabda*s (incorrect expressions) also. Nāgōji Bhaṭṭa feels, on the other hand, that this question is intended to inform the readers that *śabda* here denotes not only the *lāukika śabda* but also the *Vāidika śabda*, and thus enable them to understand that Pāṇini does not deal in his grammar only with *lāukika śabdas* as in शाकटायनव्याकरणम्, nor only with *Vāidika śabdas* as in प्रातिशाख्य, but with both.

Since the Vedas form part of the world, the *Vāidika śabdas* form a part of the *lāukika śabdas*. Then what is the need for the expression *Vāidikānām ca*? The need is felt since the author wants to give prominence to the *Vāidika śabda*. The expression *Vāidikānām ca* here is similar to the expression *Vasiṣṭhōpi* in the sentence ब्राह्मणा आगताः वसिष्ठोऽप्यागतः (Brāhmaṇas have come and also *Vasiṣṭha*). The expression *Vasiṣṭhōpi* does not preclude *Vasiṣṭha* from being a Brāhmaṇa, but suggests that he is the Brāhmaṇa of Brāhmaṇas. The *Vāidika śabdas* are considered to be more prominent than the *lāukika śabdas*, since the latter should not be mispronounced *only in sacrifices* (याज्ञे कर्मणि) and the

former *on no occasion*. Or it may be taken that Mahābhāṣyakāra may have stated लौकिकानां वैदिकानां च similar to the statements of Pāṇini छन्दसि च (V. 1. 61), भाषायां सदवसश्रुवः (III. 2. 108).

The *lāukika śabdas* are illustrated by गौः, अश्वः, etc. It is worthy of note that the list of words given by Yāska in his Nirukta commences with the same words,

सत्वानामुपदेशः । गौरश्वः पुरुषो हस्तीति । (N. 1, 1,2)

The *Vāidika śabdas* are illustrated by the sentences शन्नो देवीरभिष्टये etc. This clearly shows that, in Vedas, the order of words should not be changed, that they should be pronounced with their respective *svara* and that the sentence accent is more powerful than the word accent.

The four sentences mentioned above शन्नो देवीरभिष्टये, इषे त्वोर्जे त्वा, अग्निमीळे पुरोहितम्, अग्न आयाहि वीतये respectively represent the Atharvavēda, the Yajurvēda, the Ṛgvēda and the Sāmaveda. It may be a surprise to the Brāhmaṇas to see that the order is inverted here since they have been accustomed to repeat them in a different order while they perform their *Brahmayajña*. The order that they follow then is अग्निमीळे पुरोहितम्, इषे त्वोर्जे त्वा, अग्न आयाहि वीतये, शन्नो देवीरभिष्टये. Hence it is necessary to infer some reason or other for this inversion.

From Dharmasūtras it is plain that those that are authorised to study the Vedas have to study all the Vedas. If it is not practicable, they are allowed to study two or at least one. *Cf.*

वेदानधीत्य वेदौ वा वेदं वापि यथाक्रमम् ।
अविप्लुतब्रह्मचर्यो गृहस्थाश्रममावसेत् ॥ (M. III. 2)

It may also be noted that there were people who studied all the four Vedas in forty-eight years. *Cf.*

अष्टाचत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि पौराणां वेदब्रह्मचर्यम् (B.D. I. 2. 1).

அறுநான் கிரட்டி யிளமை நல்லியாண்டு
ஆறினிற் கழிப்பிய வறனவில் கொள்கை
... ...
இருபிறப் பாளர் பொழுதறிந்து நுவல
திரு. மு. (179—82)

If one is prepared to study all the Vedas the injunction

स्वाध्यायोऽध्येतव्यः

says that he should first study the Veda which was first studied by his forefathers. Otherwise he is said to become a sinner. *Cf.*

पारंपर्यागतो येषां वेदस्सपरिबृंहणः ।
तच्छाखाकर्म कुर्वीत तच्छाखाध्ययनं तथा ॥
यः स्वशाखां परित्यज्य पारक्यमधिगच्छति ।
स शूद्रवद्बहिष्कार्यस्सर्वकर्मसु साधुभिः ॥ (Y.)

Hence it seems to me that Mahābhāṣyakāra studied the Atharvavēda first and then the Yajurvēda, the Ṛgvēda and the Sāmavēda. This is also supported by the fact that on another occasion when he says that students repeat the Vedas as taught to them without questioning the why of it, he mentions

ओं इत्युक्त्वा वृत्तान्तशः शमित्येवमादीन् शब्दान् पठन्ति (M. B. I. 1. 1)

Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit Śivadatta D. Kudala, the editor of the Mahābhāṣya which was published by Tukarama Javaji writes in the foot-note under this portion that the Atharvavēda is mentioned first since the *Brahmā*, one of the four principal priests of a sacrifice, is to be conversant with all the Vedas and he should know how to avert difficulties both from within and from without, for which the knowledge of the Atharvavēda is necessary. Since अध्वर्युः is mentioned immediately after *Brahmā* the Yajurveda is mentioned next and since the *Sāma* is based upon ऋक्, the Ṛgvēda is mentioned next. He gives also an alternative explanation that the Atharvavēda is mentioned first since it is stated in *Muṇḍakōpaniṣad* that *Brahmā* first taught his eldest son *Atharva*, the *Brahmavidyā*. *Cf.*

ब्रह्मा देवानां प्रथमं सम्बभूव विश्वस्य कर्ता भुवनस्य गोप्ता,
स ब्रह्मविद्यां सर्वविद्याप्रतिष्ठामथर्वाय ज्येष्ठपुत्राय प्राह ।

शन्नो देवीरभिष्टये which is generally stated to represent the Atharvavēda is only the first Ṛk of the sixth sūkta in the first *kāṇḍa* of the Atharvavēda; while

ये त्रिषप्ताः परियन्ति विश्वा रूपाणि बिभ्रतः ।
वाचस्पतिर्बला तेषां तन्वोअद्य दधातु मे ॥

happens to be the first Ṛk of the first sūkta in the Atharvavēda. I am unable to understand why **शन्नो देवीरभिष्टये** is preferred to **ये त्रिषप्ताः परियन्ति**, though **इषे त्वोर्जे त्वा, अग्निमीळे पुरोहितम् अग्न आयाहि वीतये** are at the commencement of the Yajurvēda, the Ṛgvēda and the Sāmavēda respectively.

Having thus dealt with the denotation of the word *śabda*, Mahābhāṣyakāra begins to deal with its connotation.

III

अथ गौरित्यत्र कः शब्दः ? किं यत्तत्सास्नालाङ्गूलककुदखुरविषाण्यर्थरूपं स शब्दः ? नेत्याह, द्रव्यं नाम तत् । यत्तर्हि तदिङ्गितं चेष्टितं निमिषितमिति स शब्दः ? नेत्याह, क्रिया नाम सा । यत्तर्हि तत् शुक्लो नीलः कपिलः कपोत इति स शब्दः ? नेत्याह, गुणो नाम सः । यत्तर्हि तद्भिन्नेष्वभिन्नं छिन्नेष्वच्छिन्नं सामान्यभूतं स शब्दः ? नेत्याह, आकृतिर्नाम सा । कस्तर्हि शब्दः ? येनोच्चारितेन सास्नालाङ्गूलककुदखुरविषाणिनां सम्प्रत्ययो भवति स शब्दः ; अथवा प्रतीतपदार्थको लोके ध्वनिः शब्द इत्युच्यते । तद्यथा, शब्दं कुरु, मा शब्दं कार्षीः, शब्दकार्ययं माणवकः, इति ध्वनिं कुर्वन्नेवमुच्यते । तस्मात् ध्वनिः शब्दः ।

Now, when one says गौः, what is śabda? Is it the object which has the dew-lap, tail, hump, hoof, horns etc.? No, he says, it is called *dravya*. Is it then its gesture, movement or winking? No, he says, it is called *kriyā* or action. Is it then the whiteness, blueness, brownness, or greyness? No, he says; it is called *guṇa*. Is it then the sum-total of the qualities like *sattā* which ever exists even when the individuals are broken or destroyed? No, he says, it is called *ākṛti*. Then what is *śabda*? *S'abda* is that on whose manifestation the correct knowledge of the object which has dew-lap, tail, hump, hoof, horns etc., is produced; or, the sound which has a decisive meaning is said to be *śabda* in the world. It is clear from the fact that he who makes noise is told thus: 'Make *śabda !*,' 'Do not make *śabda*.' 'This student is a maker of *śabda*.' Hence *dhvani* is śabda.

When a word like गौः is pronounced, the following concepts appear in the mind of the hearer :—the species cow, her action, her qualities, genus cow, the shape of the cow—and also the word made up of *g*, *āu* and *visarga* strikes his ear. The hearer begins to doubt whether on pronouncing गौः the

śabda refers to the species cow, her actions etc. It may seem absurd to some to think so since the species cow, her qualities etc., are seen by the eyes and the word गौः is heard by the ear. But since the relation of शब्द and अर्थ, गुण and गुणिन्, क्रिया and क्रियावान् in Sanskrit is identity according to the Sanskrit grammarians and there is a rule तद्भिन्नाभिन्नस्य तद्भिन्नत्वम्, it is quite natural to think so. Mahābhāṣyakāra says that they are not the connotation of *śabda* and the true connotation is स्फोटः—that, which, when manifested, enables the hearer to have a clear knowledge of the object cow.

Is it not then the sound that strikes the ear? At first he says 'no' for the following reasons :—In words made up of more than one letter, if one letter is capable of giving the sense of the whole word, the other letters are unnecessary. If, on the other hand, the whole made up of all letters is considered to be capable of giving the sense, it is not possible to have the whole pronounced at the same time. Hence the Sanskrit grammarians say that every letter that is pronounced makes an impression in the mind and the sum-total of the impressions made by all the letters of the word suggest the sense. Hence *śabda* is not what we hear, but it is that which is manifested in the mind after the whole word is pronounced.

It may be useful in this context to mention that the Sanskrit grammarians state that *śabda* is of four phases :— परा, (*parā*), पश्यन्ती, (*paśyantī*), मध्यमा, (*madhyamā*) and वैखरी (*vāikharī*), *parā* being that phase of the शब्दब्रह्मन्, the undifferentiated primordial sound manifested at मूलाधार, or sacral plexus, *paśyantī* being that phase which is manifested at the navel and which is cognisable to yōgins, *madhyamā* being that phase which is manifested at the heart and *vāikharī* being that phase which is manifested

out of the vocal organs as the articulated sound. These four phases are clearly suggested by the following Ṛk mentioned in the Mahābhāṣya and the following *kārikā* found in Bhartṛhari's *Vākyapadīya* :—

चत्वारि वाक्परिमिता पदानि तानि विदुर्ब्राह्मणा ये मनीषिणः ।
गुहा त्रीणि निहिता नेङ्गयन्ति तुरीयं वाचो मनुष्या वदन्ति ॥
(M. B. I. 1. 1.)

वैखर्या मध्यमायाश्च पश्यन्त्याश्चैतदद्भुतम् ।
अनेकतीर्थभेदायास्त्रय्या वाचः परं पदम् ॥ (V. I. 144).

Nāgōji Bhaṭṭa says that the definition

येनोच्चारितेन सास्नालाङ्गूलककुदखुरविषाणिनां सम्प्रत्ययो जायते स शब्दः

applies to *madhyamā* and the definition प्रतीतपदार्थको ध्वनिः शब्दः applies to *vāikharī*. *Cf.*

ध्वनिपदेनात्र वैखरी, स्फोटपदेनाभिव्यक्तकत्वादिको मध्यमावस्थ आन्तरः शब्द उच्यते

Even though that

येनोच्चारितेन सास्नालाङ्गूलककुदखुरविषाणिनां सम्प्रत्ययो जायते स शब्दः

is the true definition of a word, yet Mahābhāṣyakāra suggests another definition also which is current in the world.

The statements शब्दं कुरु, मा शब्दं कार्षीः, शब्दकार्ययं माणवकः are taken by Kāiyaṭa to be विधिः (injunction) निषेध, (prohibition), and वस्तुस्थितिकथनम् (statement of actual fact). But all the three may be pronounced with the same purpose to silence a noisy boy. There is no doubt that in that case शब्दं कुरु and शब्दकार्ययं माणवकः will have to be pronounced in a particular tone, the former in a sarcastic tone and the latter in a complaining tone. If one begins to question why he should give expression to three sentences which have the same

meaning, the answer is that Mahābhāṣyakāra takes pleasure in such statements :—*Cf.*

धर्माय नियमः, धर्मार्थो वा नियमः, धर्मप्रयोजनो वा नियमः
वृत्तये समवायः, वृत्त्यर्थो वा समवायः, वृत्तिप्रयोजनो वा समवायः (M.B. I. 1—1.)

The word *atha* in अथ गौरित्यत्र कः शब्दः introduces the question गौरित्यत्र कः शब्दः ; hence Nāgōji Bhaṭṭa says पृच्छयते इति शेषः । यत्तत् is used in the sense of यत्. The use of the neuter in यत्तत् and the use of the masculine in सः is sanctioned by the statement

उद्दिश्यमानप्रतिनिर्दिश्यमानयोरेकत्वमापादयन्ति सर्वनामानि पर्यायेण तल्लिङ्गमुपाददते ।
(K. I. 1. 1.)

The statement भिन्नेष्वभिन्नम् suggests the oneness and the all-pervasiveness and छिन्नेष्वच्छिन्नम् suggests the perpetuity.

The word सामान्यभूतम् is taken by Kāiyaṭa in the sense सामान्यमिव. But since the word सामान्य here denotes सत्ता the व्यापकजातिः, and आकृतिः is the व्याप्यजातिः and there can be no comparison between two things that are व्यापक and व्याप्य, Nāgōji Bhaṭṭa takes it to mean सामान्यस्वरूपम्, and he quotes a similar use of *bhūta* in Mahābhāṣya प्रमाणभूत आचार्यः, (I. 1. 3.) in support of his interpretation.

The word आकृतिः here means not only genus, but also shape. Wherever Mahābhāṣyakāra deals with the word आकृतिः, he takes it in both the senses. *Cf.*

आकृतिर्हि नित्या द्रव्यमनित्यम् . . . द्रव्यं हि नित्यम्, आकृतिरनित्या (M.B. I. 1. 1)
आकृतिग्रहणात्सिद्धम् . . . रूपसामान्याद्वा (M.B. I. 1. 2.)

The authority for his taking shape also to be the sense of आकृति is the sūtra of Gāutama व्यक्त्याकृतिजातयः पदार्थः
(II. 2. 63).

The meaning of उच्चारितेन is अभिव्यक्तेन (by that which is manifested). उच्चरितेन is another reading. It is found in the स्फोटसिद्धि of Ācārya Maṇḍana Miśra published by the University of Madras.

IV

Unless one is informed of the advantages to be derived from doing a thing, one is not generally inclined to do it.*

So the question arises

कानि पुनः शब्दानुशासनस्य प्रयोजनानि ?

What then are the advantages derived from the study of grammar and what is the authority that enjoins it? Here the word शब्दानुशासनस्य, though it means 'of grammar," should be taken to mean 'of the study of grammar' (शब्दानुशासनाध्ययनस्य.)

The word प्रयोजनानि means not only 'the benefits' but also 'the authorities that enjoin' (प्रयोजकानि). In both the meanings the derivation of the word प्रयोजनम् is प्रयुज्यते अनेन. Kāiyaṭa under this line says

किं सन्ध्योपासनादिवत् व्याकरणाध्ययनं नित्यं कर्म अथ काम्यमिति प्रश्नः

It means that the question is whether the study of grammar is a *nitya-karma* like morning and evening ablutions (*sandhyōpāsana*) or *kāmya-karma*. *Nitya-karma* is that, the performance of which is not considered to bear positive fruit and the non-performance of which is considered to produce demerit. *Kāmya-karma*, on the other hand, is that,

* प्रयोजनमनुद्दिश्य न मन्दोऽपि प्रवर्तते ।
(Even a fool does not attempt a thing for nothing).

the performance of which bears the *desired* fruit and the non-performance does not bring any demerit.

The above question is answered thus :—

रक्षोहागमलघ्वसन्देहाः प्रयोजनम्

The advantages are (1) रक्षा [protection (of the Vedas)], (2) ऊहः [modification (of Vedic mantras)], (3) लघु [easy means (of acquiring the knowledge of words)], and (4) असन्देहः (absence of ambiguity) and the authority is आगमः (Vedas).

It is worthy of note that the compound word रक्षोहागमलघ्वसन्देहाः is in the plural and the word प्रयोजनम् is in the singular. Such a usage is sanctioned by the statement एकवच्च अस्य अन्यतरस्याम् (its use in singular is optional) in the sūtra

नपुंसकमनपुंसकेनैकवच्चास्यान्यतरस्याम् । (P. I. 2. 69).

रक्षा—

रक्षार्थं वेदानामध्येयं व्याकरणम् । लोपागमवर्णविकारज्ञो हि सम्यग्वेदान्परिपालयिष्यतीति ॥

To protect the Vedas, grammar is to be studied. For, only he who has a correct knowledge of the elision, the augmentation and the substitution of sounds is thoroughly capable of preserving the Vedas intact. For instance, in the Vedic expression देवा अदुह्र (gods milked), the regular form अदुहत is replaced by अदुह्र where त has been elided and र् has been augmented. Similarly in the expression उद्ग्राभं च निग्राभं च (V. S. 17, 64) भ् is substituted for ह.* One who is not conversant with the rules of grammar which sanction such usages may have a tendency to correct them.

* This is according to the descriptive grammar; for according to the historical grammar ह had भ् as one of its sources.

ऊहः खल्वपि—

न सर्वैर्लिङ्गैर्न च सर्वाभिर्विभक्तिभिर्वेदे मन्त्रा निगदिताः। ते चावश्यं यज्ञगतेन पुरुषेण यथायथं विपरिणमयितव्याः, तान्नावैयाकरणः शक्नोति यथायथं विपरिणमयितुम्। तस्मादध्येयं व्याकरणम्।

Modification also (is one of the advantages). Mantras are not mentioned in the Vedas in all genders and cases. They have to be necessarily modified by the priest in a sacrifice according to the context (i.e.) to suit the particular god or gods invoked. It is not possible for a non-grammarian to suitably modify them. Hence is the need to study grammar.

For instance there is a mantra **अग्नये त्वा जुष्टं निर्वपामि** (V. S. I. 13. 2) in the Yajurveda. It is evident that this mantra should be pronounced when the deity to be invoked is *Agni*. If one is eager of getting **ब्रह्मवर्चसम्** (lustre of Brahman), there is an injunction that the oblation must be offered to the sun. *Cf:* **सौर्यं चरुं निर्वपेत् ब्रह्मवर्चसकामः।** In that case the word **अग्नये** will have to be replaced by the word **सूर्याय**. This is possible only if he knows that the dative case singular of **सूर्य** is **सूर्याय**. Hence the knowledge of **ऊह** is necessary for the correct performance of Vedic ceremonies. From this one can understand that **ऊह** helps the **यजमान** or the sacrificer to reap the desired fruit and the **ऋत्विक्** or the priest to become happy through the fee he is paid for officiating as priest. Nāgōji Bhaṭṭa seems to think of the latter alone. *Cf.*

ऊहज्ञस्य हि आर्त्विज्यलाभेन द्रव्यप्राप्तिद्वारा ऐहिकसुखसिद्धिः फलमिति बोध्यम्

आगमः खल्वपि—

ब्राह्मणेन निष्कारणो धर्मः षडङ्गो वेदोऽध्येयो ज्ञेयश्च। प्रधानं च षडङ्गेषु व्याकरणम्। प्रधाने च कृतो यत्नः फलवान्भवति ॥

Āgama also [forms a प्रयोजनम् (प्रयोजकम्)].

Vēda with six *aṅgas* shall be studied and understood by a Brāhmaṇa without expecting any reward. Of the six *aṅgas*, grammar is important. Effort directed towards the prominent bears rich fruit.

The word ब्राह्मणेन suggests that the study of grammar is a *nitya-karma* to Brāhmaṇas and a *kāmya-karma* to others. The word कारण in निष्कारण: means not *cause*, but *fruit*. The six aṅgas are शिक्षा (Phonetics), व्याकरणम् (Grammar), छन्द: (Prosody), निरुक्तम् (Vedic interpretation), ज्योतिषम् (Astronomy) and कल्प: (The made-easies for the performance of rituals).

Grammar is said to be important since, without its study, one is not capable of understanding the meaning of sentences.

The word *āgama* has been taken to mean *vēda* and hence the word *prayōjana* has to be interpreted as *prayōjaka*. Since *āgama* means also *study* and it is used in that sense by Mahābhāṣyakāra himself (आगमकालेन I. 1. 1.) and the study of Vyākaraṇa is considered to be a *nitya-karma* to Brāhmaṇas, it seems to me to be worthy of consideration whether Mahābhāṣyakāra intends that the study of Vyākaraṇa for its own sake is *one* of the *prayōjanas*.

लघु—

लघ्वर्थं चाध्येयं व्याकरणम् । ब्राह्मणेनावश्यं शब्दा ज्ञेया इति । न चान्तरेण व्याकरणं लघुनोपायेन शब्दाः शक्या विज्ञातुम् ।

For easy grasp of words is grammar to be studied. Words should necessarily be understood by Brāhmaṇas. There is no easy means of learning words other than grammar.

If the paradigm of one noun is known, the case-forms of similar nouns are also known and hence there is no need to get by heart the forms of all nouns. Similarly if the conjugational forms of one verb is known, those of similar verbs are also known.

असन्देहः—

असन्देहार्थं चाध्येयं व्याकरणम् । याज्ञिकाः पठन्ति—स्थूलपृषतीमाग्निवारुणीमनड्वाहीमालभेत इति । तस्यां सन्देहः—स्थूला चासौ पृषती च स्थूलपृषती, स्थूलानि वा पृषन्ति यस्याः सेयं स्थूलपृषतीति । तां नावैयाकरणः स्वरतोऽध्यवस्यति—यदि पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वं ततो बहुव्रीहिः, अथ समासान्तोदात्तत्वं ततस्तत्पुरुष इति ॥

For the absence of ambiguity is grammar to be studied. Mantras dealing with sacrifices are read thus :—

Tie to the stake to propitiate *Agni* and *Varuṇa* a cow which is **स्थूलपृषती**. Here is the doubt whether the word **स्थूलपृषती** means 'stout and spotted,' or 'having big spots.' The correct meaning cannot be understood by a non-grammarian from its *svara*. If it has the *udātta* at the usual place of the first member of the compound, it should be taken as *bahuvrīhi* when, it means 'having big spots'; if, on the other hand, it has the *udātta* at the final syllable, it should be taken as *tatpuruṣa* when, it means 'stout and spotted.'

Having dealt with the advantages of the study of grammar in a general way, Mahābhāṣyakāra enumerates them in detail. Kāiyaṭa says :

" Having mentioned the important benefits, he mentions those that are accessory.* Nāgōji Bhaṭṭa explains that they

* मुख्यानि प्रयोजनानि प्रदर्श्यानुषङ्गिकाणि प्रदर्शयति

are important because they are intended to get a knowledge of words and their meanings and the others are accessory since they deal with incorrect words and the usage of words in proper places etc.*

इमानि च भूयः शब्दानुशासनस्य प्रयोजनानि—तेऽसुराः । दुष्टः शब्दः । यदधीतम् । यस्तु प्रयुङ्क्ते । अविद्वांसः । विभक्तिं कुर्वन्ति । यो वा इमाम् । चत्वारि । उत त्वः । सक्तुमिव । सारस्वतीम् । दशम्यां पुत्रस्य । सुदेवो असि वरुण । इति

These also are the benefits to be accrued by the study of grammar, तेऽसुराः etc.

The expression तेऽसुराः etc., are generally at the commencement of some Vēdic texts which are explained in detail below. They are thirteen in number.

तेऽसुराः—

तेऽसुरा हेऽलयो हेऽलय इति कुर्वन्तः पराबभूवुः । तस्माद् ब्राह्मणेन न म्लेच्छितवै, नापभाषितवै, म्लेच्छो ह वा एष यदपशब्दः । म्लेच्छा मा भूमेत्यध्येयं व्याकरणम् । [तेऽसुराः] †

Those *asuras* pronouncing *hēlayaḥ hēlayaḥ* were baffled in their attempt. Hence no *mlēccha* word is to be pronounced by a Brāhmaṇa; (*i.e.*) no word not sanctioned by grammar is to be pronounced; *mlēccha* means word which is not sanctioned by grammar. In order that we may not become *mlēcchas* (the users of corrupt words), grammar is to be studied.

* तेषां प्रधानत्वं च पदपदार्थज्ञानाधीनत्वेनान्तरङ्गत्वात् । वक्ष्यमाणानां च बहिरङ्गशब्दापशब्द-प्रयोगविधिनिषेधविषयत्वादानुषङ्गिकत्वं बोध्यम् ।

† ते असुराः indicates that the topic dealing with it is closed. The same method is followed in दुष्टः शब्दः etc.

The expression हेऽलयो हेऽलयः is the incorrect one that is referred to. The mistakes here are according to some, the non-use of *pluta* and *prakṛtibhāva* (*i.e.*) हेऽलयो हेऽलयः should have been pronounced as हे ३ अलयः हे ३ अलयः Others think that the correct form is हे हे अरयः *

On considering the use of the word म्लेच्छितवै it appears that the statement

तेऽसुरा हेऽलयो हेऽलय इति कुर्वन्तः पराबभूवुः । तस्माद् ब्राह्मणेन न म्लेच्छितवै ।

is a quotation from some previous work.† The expression न म्लेच्छितवै is explained by Mahābhāṣyakāra by न अपभाषितवै. The reason for such an interpretation is said that the word म्लेच्छः is freely used to denote ungrammatical word or expression. The word म्लेच्छाः may also mean 'censured beings.' Bhartṛhari in his Pradīpikā says that तेऽसुराः ... is an *arthavāda* and म्लेच्छा मा भूम means, according to some, मा पराभूम.

दुष्टः शब्दः ।

दुष्टः शब्दः स्वरतो वर्णतो वा मिथ्याप्रयुक्तो न तमर्थमाह ।
स वाग्वज्रो यजमानं हिनस्ति यथेन्द्रशत्रुः स्वरतोऽपराधात् ॥ इति
दुष्टान् शब्दान् मा प्रयुक्ष्महीत्यध्येयं व्याकरणम् [दुष्टः शब्दः]

Word that is incorrectly pronounced either from the standpoint of *svara* (accent) or *varṇa* (letter) gives the non-desired meaning and hence is not able to convey the desired

* तत्र केचिदाहुः "हैहेप्रयोगे हैहयोः" इति प्लुते प्रकृतिभावे च कर्तव्ये तदकरणं म्लेच्छनमिति । पदद्विर्वचने कार्ये वाक्यद्विर्वचनं लत्वं च म्लेच्छनमित्यपरे ।

Cf. † हेऽलवो हेऽलव इति वदन्तः पराबभूवुः ... तस्मान्न ब्राह्मणो म्लेच्छेत्
S'atapatha III. 2, 1, 23 & 24).

meaning. It serves as speech-thunderbolt and brings out the ruin of the sacrificer as the word इन्द्रशत्रुः which was pronounced with a wrong accent. In order that we may not use wrong words, grammar is to be studied.

The allusion referred to is this :—Vṛtra, an asura, wanted to bring forth a son who could kill Indra, his foe. So he performed a sacrifice in which he pronounced the *mantra* इन्द्रशत्रुर्वर्धस्व which means 'may you, *Indraśatru* flourish.' Here the word इन्द्रशत्रुः is capable of giving two meanings :— the slayer of Indra and one who could be slain by Indra. If it should convey the former meaning, the last syllable is to be accented and if it is the latter, the word इन्द्र should be accented in its usual place. Vṛtra wanted only the slayer of Indra. But, while pronouncing the mantra, he pronounced the word इन्द्रशत्रुः in hot haste by accenting it on the first syllable of the word *Indra*. The result was that he got a son who could be slain by Indra.

This stanza seems to be an adaptation of the following stanza found in the पाणिनीयशिक्षा।

मन्त्रो हीनः स्वरतो वर्णतो वा मिथ्याप्रयुक्तो न तमर्थमाह ।
स वाग्वज्रो यजमानं हिनस्ति यथेन्द्रशत्रुः स्वरतोऽपराधात् ॥

A doubt may arise why the incorrect pronunciation of words should bring out the destruction of the *sacrificer* and not the *officiating priest* though it is the latter who actually mispronounces the word. Since the priest is only paid for it, neither the gain accrued by the correct pronunciation, nor the loss accrued by the incorrect pronunciation is considered to affect him.

The enumeration of तेऽसुराः and दुष्टः शब्दः is to make the Brāhmaṇas realise that, if they are ignorant of grammar,

they will be disqualified to officiate as priests in sacrifices. If, in spite of their ignorance, they are chosen, they will be instrumental in bringing ruin to the sacrificer who chooses them.

यदधीतम्—

यदधीतमविज्ञातं निगदेनैव शब्दते ।
अनग्नाविव शुष्कैधो न तज्ज्वलति कर्हिचित् ॥
तस्मादनर्थकं माधिगीष्महीत्यध्येयं व्याकरणम् [यदधीतम्] ।

That which is studied (at the feet of the preceptor) and is often repeated as was taught by him without its meaning being understood does not shine (*i.e.* is of no practical utility) like dry fuel thrown on ashes. In order that we may not study anything without advantage, the knowledge of grammar is necessary.

From this it is evident that there is no use of studying anything without understanding its sense. Much more is it so with respect to the study of the Vēdas. That Mahābhāṣyakāra cites this only with special reference to the study of the Vēdas is seen from the fact that this stanza with a slight modification forms the supplement, in Nirukta, to the stanza

स्थाणुरयं भारहारः किलाभूदधीत्य वेदं न विजानाति योऽर्थम् ।
योऽर्थज्ञ इत्सकलं भद्रमश्नुते नाकमेति ज्ञानविधूतपाप्मा । (N. I. 6. 2.)

It means this :—He who studies Vēda without knowing its meaning is evidently a pillar serving as rest for loads ; but, on the other hand, he who understands the meaning gets all kinds of happiness and reaches Heaven after having his sins removed with his knowledge.

The Nirukta reading is यद्गृहीतम् instead of यदधीतम्.

यस्तु प्रयुङ्क्ते—

यस्तु प्रयुङ्क्ते कुशलो विशेषे शब्दान्यथावद् व्यवहारकाले ।
सोऽनन्तमाप्नोति जयं परत्र वाग्योगविद् दुष्यति चापशब्दैः ॥

The learned grammarian who uses the right word in the right place gets unbounded success elsewhere, while the other man (the non-grammarian) fares ill by the use of incorrect words.

Mahābhāṣyakāra evokes a discussion on the *subject* of the verb दुष्यति. The **पूर्वपक्ष** is that **वाग्योगवित्** which immediately precedes **दुष्यति** is its subject and the **सिद्धान्त** is that **अवाग्योगवित्** is understood before **दुष्यति** and it alone can form its subject. The discussion runs as follows :—

कः—Who?

वाग्योगविदेव—Evidently the grammarian!

कुत एतत्—On what authority is this?

यो हि शब्दान् जानाति अपशब्दानप्यसौ जानाति; यथैव हि शब्दज्ञाने धर्मः एवम् अपशब्दज्ञानेऽपि अधर्मः । अथ वा भूयानधर्मः प्राप्नोति—भूयांसोऽपशब्दाः, अल्पीयांसः शब्दाः, एकैकस्य हि शब्दस्य बहवोऽपभ्रंशाः । तद्यथा—गौरित्यस्य शब्दस्य गावी गोणी गोता गोपोतलिका इत्येवमादयो अपभ्रंशाः ॥

For he who knows the correct words knows also incorrect ones. As merit accrues with the knowledge of correct words, demerit also accrues with that of incorrect words. Or, the greater becomes the demerit since the incorrect words are greater in number; for every correct word is mispronounced in many ways; for instance the correct word **गौः** (which denotes cow) is mispronounced in many ways like **गावी, गोणी, गोता, गोपोतलिका** etc. (It must be borne in mind that the word **गोणी** when it means a sack is correct).

अथ योऽवाग्योगवित्? — Then what about the non-grammarian?

अज्ञानं तस्य शरणम्—Ignorance is his resort.

विषम उपन्यासः । नात्यन्ताय अज्ञानं शरणं भवितुमर्हति । यो ह्यजानन् वै ब्राह्मणं हन्यात् सुरां वा पिबेत्, सोऽपि मन्ये पतितः स्यात् ।

Illogical is the argument. Ignorance cannot completely serve as a resort. He who murders a Brāhmaṇa, or who drinks liquor without knowing that either brings forth sin is, I think, a sinner.

एवं तर्हि, सोऽनन्तमाप्नोति जयं परत्र वाग्योगवित्; दुष्यति चापशब्दैः ।

(Here it must be understood that he reads it in such a way as to stop after **वाग्योगवित्** so that it may be taken as the subject of **आप्नोति** in the previous line).

If so **सोऽनन्तम्** ... ... **अपशब्दैः ।**

कः? Who?

अवाग्योगविदेव—Evidently the non-grammarian.

अथ यो वाग्योगवित्? Then, what about the grammarian?

विज्ञानं तस्य शरणम्—Knowledge is his resort.

क पुनरिदं पठितम्—Is there any book where this is said?

भ्राजा नाम श्लोकाः—The ślōkas named *bhrāja*.

किं च भोः श्लोका अपि प्रमाणम्? Oh sir, do *ślōkas* also stand as authority?

किं चातः? What if?

यदि श्लोका अपि प्रमाणम्, अयमपि प्रमाणं भवितुमर्हति—

यदुदुम्बरवर्णानां घटीनां मण्डलं महत् ।
पीतं न गमयेत्स्वर्गं किं तत्क्रतुगतं नयेत् ॥ इति

If *ślōkas* also stand as authority, this ślōka which means—when jars of red liquor drunk cannot lead to Heaven, how can a drop of the same drink in sacrifices do it?—also may serve as authority.

प्रमत्तगीत एष तत्रभवतः This is the expression of the revered when he is not in right mood.

यस्तु अप्रमत्तगीतस्तत् प्रमाणम्. [यस्तु प्रयुङ्क्ते]. That which is said when he is in right mood is an authority.

The sentence क पुनरिदं पठितम्? means क एष यत्र पुनरिदं पठितम्? The ślōkas named *bhrāja* are ascribed to *Kātyāyana*. Kāiyaṭa says that, though this verse in question (यस्तु प्रयुङ्क्ते) is one among *bhrāja* ślōkas, it is still taken to be authority since it agrees in meaning with the Vēdic text 'एकः शब्दः सम्यग्ज्ञातः सुष्ठु प्रयुक्तः स्वर्गे लोके कामधुग्भवति.'

He again says that दुष्यति is taken to be the predicate of अवाग्योगवित् and not वाग्योगवित् on the authority of the maxim प्रकरणात् सामर्थ्यं बलीयः (*Capacity to qualify* is stronger than *proximity*); here the word प्रकरण means only सन्निधि (proximity) (*i.e.*) the word दुष्यति is capable of being taken only with अवाग्योगवित् though the word वाग्योगवित् is near it.

From this it is evident that one gets all happiness only when he is capable of using the right word in the right place. This suggests that only such persons will be chosen to officiate as priests. This can be done only with the knowledge of grammar. Hence grammar helps Brāhmaṇas to get fees in the sacrifices and success elsewhere.

अविद्वांसः—

अविद्वांसः प्रत्यभिवादे नाम्नो ये न प्लुतिं विदुः ।

कामं तेषु तु विप्रोष्य स्त्रीष्विवायमहं वदेत् ॥
अभिवादे स्त्रीवन्मा भूमेत्यध्येयं व्याकरणम् [अविद्वांसः]

Those illiterate persons who do not know that *pluti* (the use of three *mātrās*) must be made use of while blessing a man who prostrates, must be prostrated in the same way as women after one returns to his place after some time and be told by him that he is such by name. Grammar is to be studied lest we should be treated like women in *abhivādana*.

From this we learn that knowledge of grammar is needed to keep up one's dignity as a learned Brāhmaṇa.

विभक्तिं कुर्वन्ति—

याज्ञिकाः पठन्ति "प्रयाजाः सविभक्तिकाः कार्याः" इति ।
न चान्तरेण व्याकरणं प्रयाजाः सविभक्तिकाः शक्याः कर्तुम् ।
[विभक्तिं कुर्वन्ति]

Chapters dealing with sacrifices read that the *prayāja* mantras should be recited with the proper cases. But for the knowledge of grammar, it is not possible to do.

Prayājas are the subsidiary *hōmas* in the *Darśapūrṇamāsa* sacrifice. It is a duty enjoined by the Vēdas to be performed by a house-holder in the same way as *sthālīpāka* enjoined by the Smṛtis to be performed by the same person. Even though the mantras for *prayāja* hōmas are completely read, yet he is allowed to perform an *iṣṭi* if the *yajamāna* is attacked of stomach-ache after *ādhāna* or meets with a great disaster within a year, where the deity to be invoked is *Agni*. Hence while performing it, he is to change the mantras iṇ such a way as to suit it.

This is the same as the ऊह mentioned before. Hence it is clear that the second set of *prayōjanas* mentioned is quotation from previous author or authors.

यो वा इमाम्—

यो वा इमां पदशः स्वरशोऽक्षरशश्च वाचं विदधाति, स आर्त्विजीनो भवति। आर्त्विजीनाः स्याम इत्यध्येयं व्याकरणम्। यो वा इमाम् ॥

He who is capable of pronouncing the mantras correctly with respect to words, accent and letters is fit to become a sacrificer or to officiate as priest in sacrifices. Grammar is to be studied so that we may be qualified to become priests or to perform sacrifices.

The word **आर्त्विजीनः** means a sacrificer if it is split as **ऋत्विजमर्हति** on the strength of the sūtra **यज्ञर्त्विग्भ्यां घखञौ** (P.). It means a priest if it is split as **ऋत्विक्कर्म अर्हति** on the strength of the Vārttika **यज्ञर्त्विग्भ्यां तत्कर्मार्हतीत्युपसङ्ख्यानम्**.

This is also more or less the same as mentioned in **यस्तु प्रयुङ्क्ते कुशलो विशेषे** etc.

चत्वारि—

चत्वारि शृङ्गा त्रयो अस्य पादा द्वे शीर्षे सप्त हस्तासो अस्य ।
त्रिधा बद्धो वृषभो रोरवीति महो देवो मर्त्यां आविवेश ॥ इति

चत्वारि शृङ्गाणि—चत्वारि पदजातानि, नामाख्यातोपसर्गनिपाताश्च । त्रयो अस्य पादाः—त्रयः कालाः, भूतभविष्यद्वर्तमानाः । द्वे शीर्षे—द्वौ शब्दात्मानौ, नित्यः कार्यश्च । सप्त हस्तासो अस्य—सप्त विभक्तयः । त्रिधा बद्धः, त्रिषु स्थानेषु बद्धः, उरसि कण्ठे शिरसीति । वृषभो, वर्षणात् । रोरवीति, शब्दं करोति। कुत एतत्? रौतिः शब्दकर्मा। महो देवो मर्त्यां आविवेशेति—महान् देवः, शब्दः; मर्त्याः, मरणधर्माणो मनुष्याः; तान् आविवेश। महता देवेन नः साम्यं यथा स्यात् इत्यध्येयं व्याकरणम् ॥

The *Vṛṣabha* which has four horns, three feet, two heads and seven hands and which is bound in three places cries

that the Great God entered the mortals. The four horns—the four parts of speech—noun, verb, *upasarga* (preposition) and *nipāta*. Its three feet—the three tenses, past, future and present. Two heads—the two kinds of *śabda*, *nitya* (eternal) and *kārya* (non-eternal). Its seven hands—the seven cases. It is bound three-fold—It is bound at three places—chest, neck and head. The word *vṛṣabha* is derived from the root *vṛṣ* (वृष्). The word रोरवीति means 'makes noise.' Whence is it? The root रु means to make noise. The Great God entered the mortals—the Great God is *śabda*; the word मर्त्याः literally means mortals and hence men; He entered them. Grammar is to be studied so that we may become one with the Great God.

महो देवः here refers to शब्दब्रह्म. It has already been mentioned that Indian Grammarians recognise four phases of speech-sound, of which परा is considered to be *nitya* and the other three पश्यन्ती, मध्यमा and वैखरी are *kārya*. The word पदजातानि in the Bhāṣya text refers, in the opinion of Nāgōji Bhaṭṭa, to the four phases of speech-sound, since, otherwise च at the end नामाख्यातोपसर्गनिपाताः cannot be appropriate. But from the following reading of Nirukta चत्वारि पदजातानि नामाख्याते चोपसर्गनिपाताश्च I think Mahābhāṣyakāra also may have had the same reading. Though *upasargas* are only *nipātas* at a particular setting, yet they have been mentioned following the maxim called गोबलीवर्दन्याय. साम्यम् is interpreted by Nāgōji Bhaṭṭa to refer to सायुज्यम् on the strength of the *Kārika* of Bhartṛhari,

अपि प्रयोक्तुरात्मानं शब्दमन्तरवस्थितम् ।
प्राहुर्महान्तमृषभं येन सायुज्यमिष्यते ॥

The *Ṛk* चत्वारि शृङ्गा...is the third *Ṛk* in the 58th Sūkta of the fourth maṇḍala in Ṛgvēda. Sāyaṇācārya, in his Bhāṣya,

says that since the presiding deity of this *Ṛk* is one of five deities, this *Ṛk* is interpreted in five ways: *Cf.*

सूक्तस्य अग्निसूर्यादिपञ्चदेवतात्मकत्वात् पञ्चधा अयं मन्त्रो व्याख्येयः । तथापि निरुक्ता[घ]क्तरीत्या यज्ञात्मकाग्नेः सूर्यस्य च प्रकाशकत्वेन तत्परतया व्याख्यायते ....

The same *Ṛk* is commented upon in Yāska's Nirukta XIII, 1-7. The expression चत्वारि, Mahābhāṣyakāra says, is taken by others to refer to the following *Ṛk*. This clearly shows that this set of *prayōjanas* was in vogue long before the time of Mahābhāṣyakāra.

अपर आह—

चत्वारि वाक्परिमिता पदानि तानि विदुर्ब्राह्मणा ये मनीषिणः ।
गुहा त्रीणि निहिता नेङ्गयन्ति तुरीयं वाचो मनुष्या वदन्ति ।

चत्वारि वाक्परिमिता पदानि—चत्वारि पदजातानि, नामाख्यातोपसर्गनिपाताश्च। तानि विदुर्ब्राह्मणा ये मनीषिणः ।मनस ईषिणो, मनीषिणः । गुहा त्रीणि निहिता नेङ्गयन्ति, गुहायां त्रीणि निहितानि नेङ्गयन्ति, न चेष्टन्ते, न निमिषन्तीत्यर्थः । तुरीयं वाचो मनुष्या वदन्ति। तुरीयं वा एतद्वाचो यन्मनुष्येषु वर्तते चतुर्थमित्यर्थः ॥ चत्वारि ॥

Others say :—

There are four kinds of speech-sound, which are seen by those Brāhmaṇas who have controlled their mind. Three of them are not cognizable since they are inside the body. Men speak out only the fourth.

The four kinds of speech-sound—the four kinds are noun, verb, *upasarga* and *nipāta*. They are seen by *manīṣins—manīṣins* are those who have controlled their mind.

Three do not exhibit themselves being kept in *guhā*—three are kept in *guhā*—the meaning of नेङ्गयन्ति is, they do not operate (*i.e.*) exhibit. Men speak out the fourth—that which is among men is the fourth phase of the speech-sound.

The same Ṛk is commented upon in Yāska's Nirukta XIII. 1. 9., where चत्वारि पदानि is explained thus :—

चत्वारि पदानि ओंकारो महाव्याहृतयश्चेत्यार्षं, नामाख्याते च उपसर्गनिपाताश्च इति वैयाकरणाः, मन्त्रः कल्पो ब्राह्मणं चतुर्थो व्यावहारिकीति याज्ञिकाः , ऋचो यजूंषि सामानि चतुर्थो व्यावहारिकीति नैरुक्ताः । etc.

It means this :—

The four padas are, in the opinion of seers, praṇava and three vyāhṛtis; they are, in the opinion of grammarians, noun, verb, *upasarga* and *nipāta*; etc.; according to sacrificers they are *mantra*, *kalpa*, *brāhmaṇa* and the fourth that is in vogue; they according to Nāiruktas, are *Ṛk*, *yajus*, *Sāman* and those that are in vogue. It appears as the 45th Ṛk in 164th Sūkta of the first Maṇḍala in Ṛgvēda. Sāyaṇa in his commentary mentions in addition to what has been mentioned in Nirukta,

अपरे मान्त्रिकाः प्रकारान्तरेण प्रतिपादयन्ति परा पश्यन्ती मध्यमा वैखरीति चत्वारि ।

Other *māntrikas* think that the four are (परा, पश्यन्ती, मध्यमा and वैखरी). Nāgōji Bhaṭṭa explains पदजातानि thus :—परापश्यन्ती-मध्यमावैखर्यः नामादीनि च। He seems to have added परापश्यन्ती-मध्यमावैखर्यः since it is said that three of them are not cognizable and since it was recognised by grammarians that, of the four phases of speech-sound, परा, पश्यन्ती and मध्यमा are not cognizable to those other than Yōgins.

उत त्वः—

उत त्वः पश्यन्न ददर्श वाचमुतत्वः शृण्वन्न शृणोत्येनाम् ।
उतो त्वस्मै तन्वं विसस्रे जायेव पत्य उशती सुवासाः ॥

अपि खल्वेकः पश्यन्नपि न पश्यति वाचम्, अपि खल्वेकः शृण्वन्नपि न शृणोत्येनाम्; इति अविद्वांसमाह अर्धम्। उतो त्वस्मै, तन्वं विसस्रे—तनुं विवृणुते। जायेव पत्य उशती सुवासाः—तद्यथा, जाया पत्ये कामयमाना सुवासाः स्वमात्मानं विवृणुते। एवं वाग् वाग्विदे स्वात्मानं विवृणुते। वाङ्नो विवृणुयादात्मानम् इत्यध्येयं व्याकरणम् ॥ उत त्वः ॥

One, though he sees *vāk* (speech), does not see her; one, though he hears her, does not hear her. Thus the first half of the stanza speaks of one who is not learned in grammar. She discloses her body to some one in the same way as a lady opens herself to her husband when she is in clean dress and wants his company. So speech opens herself to the grammarian. In order that *vāk* may open herself to us, grammar is to be studied.

The word **उत** means 'though' and the word **त्वः** means 'one.' The expression **पश्यन्नपि न पश्यति वाचम्** means 'though he sees, he does not see speech.' The word **उत** qualifies **पश्यन्** and not **त्वः**. The expression **अपि खल्वेकः शृण्वन्नपि न शृणोत्येनाम्** means 'though one hears, he does not hear her.' The word **तन्वम्** is the earlier form of **तनुम्** (which means body). The word **विसस्रे** means 'discloses.' The expression **जायेव पत्ये उशती सुवासाः** means 'it is like the wife who, being in clean dress and eager to meet her husband, opens herself. The word **आत्मानं** may here be taken to mean both *mind and body.* (The body and mind of *vāk* is evidently her *meaning*). It is clear that the latter half of the stanza speaks of the learned grammarian.

The word त्वः in two places and त्वस्मै in the latter half suggest that one in, say, hundred takes to study grammar, one in, say, thousand studies to understand it, and one in, say, ten thousand or so is able to completely master it.

The word सुवासाः suggests, as is stated in Yāska's Nirukta, that she is in her *ṛtukāla*. *Ṛtukāla* is the period of *sixteen* days beginning with the commencement of her monthly period and it, excluding the first three or four days, is considered to be the period of conception. It deserves to be noted that the injunction ऋतौ उपेयात् (one should meet his wife in *Ṛtukāla*) found in Dharmasūtras is taken to be a *niyama-vidhi* for those who have not given birth to a son; (*i.e.*) if they do not meet their wives in that period, they will meet with demerit.

This *Ṛk* "उत त्वः···सुवासाः" is found in the Ṛgvēda as the fourth *Ṛk* in the 71st sūkta of the 10th Maṇḍala. In commenting upon it Sāyaṇācārya explains the following words thus :—

पश्यन्नपि—मनसा पर्यालोचयन्नपि
न ददर्श—दर्शनफलाभावान्न पश्यति
उशती—सम्भोगं कामयमाना

The same *Ṛk* is commented upon in Nirukta (I. 6. 3) thus :—

अप्येकः पश्यन्न पश्यति वाचम्। अपि च शृण्वन्न शृणोत्येनाम् इत्यविद्वांसमाहार्धम्—अप्येकस्मै तन्वं विसस्र इति स्वात्मानं विवृणुते ज्ञानं प्रकाशनमर्थस्याहानया वाचोपमोत्तमया वाचा जायेव पत्ये, कामयमाना ऋतुकालेषु सुवासाः कल्याणवासाः कामयमाना ऋतुकालेषु। यथा स एनां पश्यति स शृणोत्यर्थज्ञप्रशंसा ॥

सक्तुमिव—

सक्तुमिव तितउना पुनन्तो यत्र धीरा मनसा वाचमक्रत ।
अत्रा सखायः सख्यानि जानते भद्रैषां लक्ष्मीर्निहिताधिवाचि ॥

सक्तुः सचतेर्दुर्धावो भवति, कसतेर्वा विपरीताद्विकसितो भवति । तितउ परिपवनं भवति—ततवद्वा, तुन्नवद्वा। धीराः—ध्यानवन्तः । मनसा—प्रज्ञानेन। वाचमक्रत-वाचमकृषत। अत्रा सखायः सख्यानि जानते—अत्र सखायः सन्तः सख्यानि जानते। क ?। य एष दुर्गो मार्गः एकगम्यो वाग्विषयः । के पुनस्ते ? वैयाकरणाः । कुत एतत् ? भद्रैषां लक्ष्मीर्निहिताधिवाचि—एषां वाचि भद्रा लक्ष्मीर्निहिता भवति । लक्ष्मीर्लक्षणाद्भासनात्परिवृढा भवति ॥ सक्तुमिव ॥

Where learned men sift correct words from incorrect ones through knowledge as people the flour of barley meal through sieve, there they, being friends of words or having unblemished knowledge throughout are able to see the true meaning; for the propitious Goddess Lakṣmī resides in their speech.

The word सक्तुः is derived from the root सच् and hence literally means that which can be cleaned only with difficulty. Or it is derived from the root कस्, has by metathesis, assumed this form and means 'that which is spread.' The word तितउ means 'sieve' and it is so since it is wide or perforated. The word धीराः means 'learned men.' The word मनसा means 'through knowledge.' The expression वाचमक्रत means 'made words' (*i.e.*) sifted correct words from incorrect ones. In the expression अत्रा सखायः सख्यानि जानते the word सन्तः is understood after सखायः. अत्र is lengthened to अत्रा for the sake of metre. Where? (*i.e.*) to which place does the word अत्र refer? That which is difficult of access and which can be achieved only through speech. Who are they? (*i.e.*) to whom does the word सखायः refer? Grammarians. Why is

it so? For the propitious Goddess Lakṣmī resides in their speech. The word Lakṣmī is derived from the root *lakṣ* which means to shine and hence she becomes the lord.

This *Ṛk* is found in the Ṛgvēda as the second *Ṛk* of 71st sūkta of the 10th Maṇḍala and it is commented upon in Yāska's Nirukta (IV. 2. 1 & 2). The expression सखायः सख्यानि जानते is interpreted in different ways. Sāyaṇācārya gives two interpretations :—(1) They possessing the knowledge of the *śāstra* are able to understand the contents of the *śāstra* correctly. (2) They being friends, get the fruits to be obtained by the knowledge of speech.

सखायः समानख्यानाः शास्त्रादिविषयज्ञानाः, ते सख्यानि तेषु भवानि ज्ञानानि जानते जानन्ति, यद्वा सखायः वाचा बद्धसख्याः ... सख्यानि जानन्ति वाक्ययुक्तानभ्युदयान् लभन्ते ॥ (Sāyaṇa).

Durgācārya, the commentator on Nirukta interprets it thus: they having the same knowledge as others are able to gauge the merits of their partners. *Cf.*

समानख्यानानामेव समानेषु शास्त्रेषु कृतश्रमाणां ... सख्यानि – विज्ञानानि ... इतरेतरस्य यो विज्ञानप्रकर्षः , तं जानते ॥

Nāgōji Bhaṭṭa, on the other hand, interprets it thus :—They knowing that everything is Brahman become one with Brahman. *Cf.*

सखायः समानख्यातयः समानज्ञानाः तच्छब्दे ब्रह्मैकत्वज्ञानवन्तस्तेनैव दृष्टान्तेन सर्वपदार्थेषु ब्रह्मनिरूपिताभेदज्ञानवन्तः सख्यानि सायुज्यानि जानते प्राप्नुवन्तीत्यर्थः ॥

Nāgōji Bhaṭṭa is of opinion that the *ṛks*

चत्वारि शृङ्गा....चत्वारि वाक्परिमिता पदानि, उत त्वः and सक्तुमिव

show that the study of grammar enables one to attain *mōkṣa*.

सारस्वतीम्—

याज्ञिकाः पठन्ति—"आहिताग्निरपशब्दं प्रयुज्य प्रायश्चित्तीयां सारस्वतीमिष्टिं निर्वपेदिति"। प्रायश्चित्तीया मा भूमेत्यध्येयं व्याकरणम् ॥ सारस्वतीम् ॥

Scriptures dealing with sacrifices read thus:—If a householder performing *agnihōtra* mispronounces a word, he will have to perform an expiatory ceremony (*iṣṭi*) called *sārasvatī iṣṭi*. In order that we may not be put to the necessity of performing expiatory ceremonies, grammar is to be studied.

दशम्यां पुत्रस्य—

याज्ञिकाः पठन्ति—"दशम्युत्तरकालं पुत्रस्य जातस्य नाम विदध्याद् घोषवदाद्यन्तरन्तःस्थमवृद्धं त्रिपुरुषानूकमनरिप्रतिष्ठितम्। तद्धि प्रतिष्ठिततमं भवति। द्व्यक्षरं चतुरक्षरं वा नाम कृतं कुर्यान्न तद्धितम्" इति। न चान्तरेण व्याकरणं कृतस्तद्धिता वा शक्या विज्ञातुम् ॥ दशम्यां पुत्रस्य ॥

Scriptures dealing with sacrifices read thus:—
On the day following the tenth from the birth of a son*, a name should be given to him. The name should have for its initial a voiced letter, should have the semi-vowels in the middle, should not have a *vṛddhi* letter as the first of its vowels, should have been current within three generations and should not be one very popular among his enemies' families. Only such a name enables him to have long life, success in life etc. It should contain two or four letters, should be made of a stem and a primary suffix and not a secondary suffix. Without the knowledge of grammar one does not know whether a suffix is primary or secondary. A

* This is the meaning given by the Mahābhāṣyakāra to the expression दशम्यां पुत्रस्य found in Dharmas'āstras.

study of Dharmasūtras enables one to understand that the expression **द्व्यक्षरं चतुरक्षरं वा** is **उपलक्षण** and should be taken to mean even number of letters.

It should be noted here that the names of men should contain even number of letters and those of women should contain odd number of letters. Since Mahābhāṣyakāra repeats the opinion of Dharmasūtrakāras that a word should not have its first vowel a *vṛddhi* letter, is it possible to assume that the names like **रामः, नारायणः** were not given to men in his time or before him?

सुदेवो असि—

सुदेवो असि वरुण यस्य ते सप्त सिन्धवः ।
अनु क्षरन्ति काकुदं सूर्म्यं सुषिरामिव ॥

सुदेवो असि, वरुण, सत्यदेवोऽसि । यस्य ते, सप्त सिन्धवः, सप्त विभक्तयः अनुक्षरन्ति काकुदम् । काकुदं तालु—काकुर्जिह्वा, सा अस्मिन्नुद्यत इति काकुदम् । सूर्म्यं सुषिरामिव । तद्यथा शोभनामूर्मिं सुषिरामग्निरन्तः प्रविश्य दहति, एवं ते सप्त सिन्धवः सप्त विभक्तयः ताल्वनुक्षरन्ति । तेनासि सत्यदेवः । † सत्यदेवाः स्यामेत्यध्येयं व्याकरणम् ॥ सुदेवो असि ॥

Oh *Varuṇa*! you are a true God since the seven oceans (of cases) spirt out of your palate like fire through the holes from within a perforated iron image.

सुदेवो असि means **सत्यदेवोऽसि।** Your seven oceans are the seven cases. The word **काकुदम्** means palate. The word **काकुः** means tongue. Since the tongue acts upon the palate,

† सत्यदेवः स्याम् is another reading. Considering म्लेच्छा मा भूम, दुष्टान् शब्दान् मा प्रयुक्ष्महि ... सत्यदेवाः स्याम is the better reading.

it is called काकुदम्. Just as fire from within a perforated well-made iron image spirts out, so also the seven case-oceans spirt out of your palate. Hence you are *satyadēva*. Grammar is to be studied so that we may become *satyadēvas*.

This *Ṛk* is the 12th *Ṛk* of the 58th sūkta of the eighth Maṇḍala in Ṛgvēda. Sāyaṇācārya in his commentary takes the word सिन्धवः to mean rivers. The same Ṛk is commented upon in Nirukta V. 4-9.

किं पुनरिदं व्याकरणमेवाधिजिगांसमानेभ्यः प्रयोजनमन्वाख्यायते, न पुनरन्यदपि किंचित्? ओम् इत्युक्त्वा वृत्तान्तशः* शमित्येवमादीन् शब्दान् पठन्ति ॥

Why is the enumeration of benefits accruing from the study of Vyākaraṇa alone made and not from that of any other (like the study of the Vēdas etc.)? They say 'ōm' and begin to repeat chapter by chapter the Vēdic words commencing from शम्.

पुरा कल्प एतदासीत्—संस्कारोत्तरकालं ब्राह्मणा व्याकरणं स्माधीयते। तेभ्यस्तत्स्थानकरणनादानुप्रदानज्ञेभ्यो वैदिकाः शब्दा उपदिश्यन्ते। तदद्यत्वे न तथा। वेदमधीत्य त्वरिता वक्तारो भवन्ति—वेदान्नो वैदिकाः शब्दाः† सिद्धाः, लोकाच्च लौकिकाः, अनर्थकं व्याकरणमिति। तेभ्य एवं विप्रतिपन्नबुद्धिभ्योऽध्येतृभ्यः सुहृद् भूत्वा आचार्य इदं शास्त्रमन्वाचष्टे इमानि प्रयोजनान्यध्येयं व्याकरणमिति ॥

* Annambhaṭṭa in his *uddyōtana* says that the correct reading is वृत्तान्तम् and it governs पठन्ति so that it means *thoroughly* (*i.e.*) in such a way that they can be pronounced without another's help. *Cf.* वृत्तान्तमिति क्रियाविशेषणम्, स्वाधीनोच्चारणक्षमं यथा भवति तथा पठन्तीत्यर्थः। एतेन 'वृत्तान्तं शमित्येवमादीन्' इति भाष्यपाठः प्रामाणिकः, 'वृत्तान्तशः...' इति शसन्तपाठः प्रामादिक इति ज्ञेयम्.

Bhartṛhari in his Pradīpikā seems to have preferred वृत्तान्ततः to वृत्तान्तशः *Cf.* तत्राद्यादित्वात्तसिः...अन्येषां वृत्तान्तशः इति पाठः and takes that वृत्तान्त means प्रपाठक.

† The word शब्दाः is omitted in some editions.

This was in the old *Kalpa* that the Brāhmaṇas studied grammar after their *upanayana*. The Vēdas were then taught to them who had a knowledge of the place of production and the effort, internal and external, of sounds. But now it is not so. After studying the Vēdas, they hasten to become teachers thinking that, since they know Vēdic words from the study of the Vēdas and the *lāukika* words from their contact with the world, the study of grammar is unnecessary. The Ācārya (Mahābhāṣyakāra) out of affection towards such scholars with wrong notions, narrates this portion containing the benefits accruing from the study and hence the need of the study of Grammar.

उक्तः शब्दः । स्वरूपमप्युक्तम् । प्रयोजनान्यप्युक्तानि ॥

(The classification of) word has been said; its definition has been given and the benefits have been narrated.

V

शब्दानुशासनमिदानीं कर्तव्यम्।तत्कथं कर्तव्यम्, किं शब्दोपदेशः कर्तव्यः, आहोस्वित् अपशब्दोपदेशः, आहोस्वित् उभयोपदेशः इति ?

S'abdānuśāsana is now to be expounded. How should it be done? Is a list of correct words to be given, or a list of incorrect words; or both?

अन्यतरोपदेशेन कृतं स्यात्। तद्यथा भक्ष्यनियमेन अभक्ष्यप्रतिषेधो गम्यते— "पञ्च पञ्चनखा भक्ष्याः*" इत्युक्ते गम्यत एतद् अतोऽन्ये अभक्ष्या इति। अभक्ष्यप्रतिषेधेन वा भक्ष्यनियमः ; तद्यथा "अभक्ष्यो ग्राम्यकुक्कुटः, अभक्ष्यो ग्राम्यसूकरः" इत्युक्ते गम्यत एतद् 'आरण्यो भक्ष्यः' इति। एवमिहापि—यदि तावच्छब्दोपदेशः

* *Cf.* भक्ष्याः श्वाविद्गोधाशशशल्यककच्छपखड्गाः खड्गवर्जाः पञ्चनखाः (Bōdh. Dharma. 1—5. 131). and (Mahābhārata. s'ānti. 141, 70).

क्रियते, गौरित्येतस्मिन्नुपदिष्टे, गम्यत एतद्गाव्यादयोऽपशब्दाः इति । अथाप्यपशब्दोपदेशः क्रियते, गाव्यादिषु उपदिष्टेषु, गम्यत एतद् 'गौरित्येष शब्दः' इति ॥

It is done by *either* method. From the injunction restricting the eatables, the non-eatables are inferred—when the injunction "Eat five five-clawed animals" is pronounced, it is inferred that all but those five animals are non-eatable. Similarly from the injunction restraining the non-eatables, the eatables are inferred. When the injunction 'Do not eat the domestic cock and the domestic pig' is pronounced, it is inferred that the wild cock and boar may be eaten. Similar is the case here also; if the list of correct words like **गौः** is given, it is inferred that **गावी** etc., are incorrect and if, on the other hand, the list of incorrect words like **गावी** etc., is given, it may be inferred that **गौः** etc., are correct words.

NOTE 1. **पञ्च पञ्चनखा भक्ष्याः**—Is this **अपूर्वविधिः**, **नियमविधिः** or **परिसङ्ख्याविधिः**? Since there is always a craving for every one to eat anything and hence even without this injunction one may eat the flesh of the five five-clawed animals, it is not **अपूर्वविधिः** like **व्रीहीन् प्रोक्षति**.

Cf. Kāiyaṭa's statement **न त्वयं विधिः, अप्राप्तेरभावात्.**

It may be taken as **परिसङ्ख्याविधिः** like **इमामगृभ्णन् रशनामृतस्य इत्यश्वाभिधानीमादत्ते**, since by this injunction one is prevented from tasting the flesh of animals other than these five. Still Mahābhāṣyakāra takes it to be a **नियमविधिः** since it also wards off one from doing what is not mentioned there.

Cf. Nāgōjibhaṭṭa's statement

पाक्षिकाप्राप्तिकाप्राप्तांशपरिपूरणफलो नियमः। अन्यनिवृत्तिफला च परिसङ्ख्येति चेन्न। नियमेऽप्यप्राप्तांशपरिपूरणरूपफलबोधनद्वारा अर्थादन्यनिवृत्तेः सत्त्वेन अभेदमाश्रित्योक्तेः॥

NOTE 2. From Nāgōjibhaṭṭa's statement

ये तु पञ्चपदस्य तदतिरिक्ते लक्षणा, भक्ष्यपदस्य च अभक्ष्ये सा

it is clear that some scholars took **पञ्च** to mean 'other than five' and **भक्ष्याः** to mean **अभक्ष्याः**; Nāgōjībhaṭṭa refutes them. Among many reasons cited in support of his view, the most important is the statement of Mahābhāṣyakāra himself

भक्ष्यनियमेन अभक्ष्यप्रतिषेधो गम्यते

किं पुनरत्र ज्यायः ? लघुत्वात् शब्दोपदेशः—लघीयान् शब्दोपदेशः; गरीयान् अपशब्दोपदेशः; एकैकस्य शब्दस्य बहवोऽपभ्रंशाः, तद्यथा – गौरित्यस्य शब्दस्य गावी गोणी गोता गोपोतलिका इत्येवमादयोऽपभ्रंशाः । इष्टान्वाख्यानं खल्वपि भवति।

Which is better? The enumeration of the correct words (is better) since it is easier—The enumeration of correct words is easier and that of incorrect words is longer; for every correct word, there are many corrupt forms. For instance the corruptions of the word **गौः** are **गावी, गोणी, गोता, गोपोतलिका** etc. We also have (another advantage of) the direct enumeration of the words that we require.

NOTE 3. The second reason given above suggests that the list of corrupt forms cannot enable us to understand the correct form of a word.

अथैतस्मिन् शब्दोपदेशे सति किं शब्दानां प्रतिपत्तौ प्रतिपदपाठः कर्तव्यः, गौः, अश्वः, पुरुषः, हस्ती, शकुनिः, मृगः, ब्राह्मणः इत्येवमादयः शब्दाः पठितव्याः ? नेत्याह, अनभ्युपाय एष शब्दानां प्रतिपत्तौ प्रतिपदपाठः । एवं हि श्रूयते—'बृहस्पतिरिन्द्राय दिव्यं वर्षसहस्रं प्रतिपदोक्तानां शब्दानां शब्दपारायणं* प्रोवाच, नान्तं जगाम'। बृहस्पतिश्च प्रवक्ता, इन्द्रश्च अध्येता, दिव्यं वर्षसहस्रम् अध्ययनकालः, न चान्तं जगाम । किं पुनरद्यत्वे? यः सर्वथा चिरं जीवति स वर्षशतं जीवति ; चतुर्भिश्च प्रकारैर्विद्या उप-

* शब्दपारायणं नाम ग्रन्थः (Pradīpikā). शब्दपारायणशब्दः...शास्त्रविशेषे (Pradīpa)

युक्ता भवति आगमकालेन, स्वाध्यायकालेन, प्रवचनकालेन, व्यवहारकालेन इति । तत्र च अस्य आगमकालेनैव आयुः कृत्स्नं* पर्युपयुक्तं स्यात् । तस्मात् अनभ्युपायः शब्दानां प्रतिपत्तौ प्रतिपदपाठः ॥

When it has thus been decided that the list of correct words is to be given, there arises the question whether an inventory of all available correct words should be taken. Are we to enumerate words like **गौः, अश्वः, पुरुषः, हस्ती, शकुनिः, मृगः, ब्राह्मणः** etc.? 'No' says he, 'for such a list is not an easy means to learn correct words.' Thus runs a story in scriptures—Bṛhaspati (the preceptor of the gods) taught Indra the work called *S'abdapārāyaṇa* containing all available correct words for thousand divine years, but could not exhaust it; Bṛhaspati is the teacher, Indra is the student, the period of instruction is thousand divine years and still it was not possible to come to an end. When such is the case, how is it possible now? He who, after all, lives longest, lives hundred summers; *Vidyā* is used in four ways in a man's life-time; it is learnt at the feet of the guru, it is revised, it is taught to a student and it is made use of in practical life (as in sacrifices etc.). If one attempts to learn at the feet of a guru the list of all correct words, his whole life-time will be used only in learning. Hence *pratipada-pāṭha* is not an easy means to get at the knowledge of correct words.

कथं तर्हि इमे शब्दाः प्रतिपत्तव्याः ? किञ्चित् सामान्यविशेषवल्लक्षणं प्रवर्त्यम्, येन अल्पेन यत्नेन महतो महतः शब्दौघान् प्रतिपद्येरन् ॥

How then are the correct words to be learnt? Some work formulating general and special rules should be written

* The word कृत्स्नम् is not found in some editions.

so that people can with a little effort learn the vast ocean of words.

किं पुनस्तत्? उत्सर्गापवादौ—कश्चिदुत्सर्गः कर्तव्यः, कश्चिदपवादः। कथंजातीयकः पुनरुत्सर्गः कर्तव्यः कथंजातीयकोऽपवादः? सामान्येनोत्सर्गः कर्तव्यः, तद्यथा 'कर्मण्यण्'; तस्य विशेषेणापवादः, तद्यथा 'आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः'॥

What is it? General rules and exceptions: some general rule is to be formulated and some exception. How is the general rule to be framed and how the exception? General rule which is to apply to things in general, like **कर्मण्यण्** is to be read and so are exceptions to apply to some special things among them like **आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः**

NOTE. The sūtra **कर्मण्यण्** means that, if in a compound the verb is preceded by the object which qualifies it, the suffix **अण्** follows the verb; **आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः** means that, if the verb mentioned above ends in **आ** and is not preceded by a preposition, it takes the suffix **क**.

VI

Having thus decided that Grammar formulating general rules and exceptions is necessary to enable one to understand correct words, Mahābhāṣyakāra discusses briefly whether the meaning of words is **जाति** (genus) or **व्यक्ति** (species) and whether the words are *nitya* or *kārya*.

किं पुनराकृतिः पदार्थः, आहोस्वित् द्रव्यम्? उभयमित्याह। कथं ज्ञायते? उभयथा ह्याचार्येण सूत्राणि पठितानि। आकृतिं पदार्थं मत्वा 'जात्याख्यायामेकस्मिन् बहुवचनमन्यतरस्याम्' इत्युच्यते। द्रव्यं पदार्थं मत्वा 'सरूपाणामेकशेष एकविभक्तौ' इत्येकशेष आरभ्यते॥

Does a word connote genus or species? 'Both' says he. How is it? For, sūtras conceding both the views are written

by the *Ācārya* (Pāṇini). The sūtra 'जात्याख्यायामेकस्मिन्...' is read on the idea that the connotation of the word is *genus* and the sūtra 'सरूपाणाम्...' is read on the idea that it is *individuality.*

NOTE. It is worth noting that *genus* cannot exist without *vyakti* and the *latter* cannot without the former. Still there are two classes of schools, one holding that word connotes only *genus* and *vyakti* comes along with it, and the other holding that word connotes only *vyakti* since the former cannot exist away from the latter. But the Ācārya Pāṇini clearly shows in his work that he holds both the views, one in one context and the other in another.

किं पुनर्नित्यः शब्दः, आहोस्वित्कार्यः ? सङ्ग्रह एतत्प्राधान्येन परीक्षितम्—नित्यो वा स्यात् कार्यो वेति । तत्रोक्ता दोषाः, प्रयोजनान्यप्युक्तानि । तत्र त्वेष निर्णयः—यद्येव* नित्यः अथापि कार्यः, उभयथापि लक्षणं प्रवर्त्यम् इति ॥

Is *śabda nitya* or *kārya*? This was examined in detail in the work *Saṅgraha* whether *śabda* is eternal or non-eternal. Merits and demerits on both sides were mentioned. This is the conclusion arrived at there, that, irrespective of śabda being nitya or kārya, grammar is to be written.

NOTE. Saṅgraha is a work written by Vyāḍi in 100,000 verses. It is unfortunate that the work is almost lost. Mahābhāṣyakāra has already suggested that, if śabda refers to *sphōṭa*, it is *nitya* and that, if it refers to *dhvani*—the sound that is produced by the vocal organs—it is *kārya*.

* एवम् is another reading.

Cf. येनोच्चारितेन सास्नालाङ्गूलककुदखुरविषाणिनां सम्प्रत्ययो भवति स शब्दः, अथवा प्रतीतपदार्थको लोके ध्वनिः शब्दः ॥

VII

Having now decided that व्याकरणम् should be written, Mahābhāṣyakāra may have dealt with the topic—the meaning of व्याकरणम्. Without doing it, he deals with the purpose served by व्याकरण. The reason for doing so is that he wants to observe in the discussion of topics, the order followed by the *Vārttikakāra*, since his *Bhāṣya* is an elaborate commentary on not only Pāṇini's sūtras but also on Kātyāyana's vārttikas.

कथं पुनरिदं भगवतः पाणिनेराचार्यस्य लक्षणं प्रवृत्तम्*

How has the Ācārya Pāṇini proceeded in his work ?

This serves as an introduction to the first *vārttika* which runs as follows :—

सिद्धे शब्दार्थसम्बन्धे लोकतोऽर्थप्रयुक्ते शब्दप्रयोगे शास्त्रेण धर्मनियमः, यथा लौकिकवैदिकेषु ॥

When word, its meaning and their relation (or word and the relation with its meaning) are learnt to be *nitya* from the world and word is used only in such meanings as are current there, the śāstra enjoins (the use of correct words) for the sake of *dharma* as in the case of incidents, *lāukika* and *vāidika*.

* Prabhat Chandra Chakravarti translates this in the Indian Historical Quarterly Vol. I, 1925 thus :—Why, again, the grammatical treatise of the venerable Pāṇini has been made? (If words are held to be eternal, what is the use of grammar?) Since the previous sentence is उभयथापि लक्षणं प्रवर्त्यम्, the legitimate question that follows is, what doctrine Pāṇini holds in his work. This is clear from Kāiyaṭa's statement किमाचार्य एव स्रष्टा शब्दार्थसम्बन्धानाम् अथ स्मर्ता इति प्रश्नः

Here Mahābhāṣyakāra deals in detail with the meanings of (1) **सिद्धे**, (2) **अर्थः** and (3) **धर्मः** and elucidates the expressions **लोकतः** and **लौकिकवैदिकेषु** and takes **लोकतः** twice, once along with **शब्दार्थसम्बन्धे** and once with **अर्थप्रयुक्ते**.

सिद्धे शब्दार्थसम्बन्धे—
सिद्धे शब्देऽर्थे सम्बन्धे चेति

Here Mahābhāṣyakāra suggests that the *vigraha* of

शब्दार्थसम्बन्धे is शब्दश्च अर्थश्च सम्बन्धश्च एतेषां समाहारः, शब्दार्थसम्बन्धम्, तस्मिन्।

अथ सिद्धशब्दस्य कः पदार्थः ? नित्यपर्यायवाची सिद्धशब्दः । कथं ज्ञायते ? यत्कूटस्थेषु अविचालिषु भावेषु वर्तते ; तद्यथा, सिद्धा द्यौः, सिद्धा पृथिवी, सिद्धमाकाशम् इति ।

Now what is the meaning of the word **सिद्ध**? It is the synonym of the word *nitya*. How is it so? Since it is used along with objects which do not move and which do not change. Ex. **सिद्धा द्यौः** (the Heaven is nitya), **सिद्धा पृथिवी** (the earth is nitya) and **सिद्धमाकाशम्** (the sky is nitya).

NOTE. The expressions **सिद्धा द्यौः** etc., are not based upon the conception that **द्यौः**, **पृथिवी** etc., are eternal, but upon the conception that they are relatively permanent.*

Mahābhāṣyakāra then quotes instances where the word **सिद्ध** means **अनित्य**.

ननु च भोः कार्येष्वपि वर्तते ; तद्यथा—सिद्ध ओदनः, सिद्धः सूपः, सिद्धा यवागूः इति। यावता कार्येष्वपि वर्तते, तत्र कुत एतन्नित्यपर्यायवाचिनो ग्रहणम्, न पुनः

* *Cf.* Nāgōjibhaṭṭa's statement
भाष्ये द्यावापृथिव्याद्यपि व्यावहारिकनित्यत्वाभिप्रायेण दृष्टान्तितम्, आकाशस्यापि व्यावहारिकनित्यत्वमेवाचार्याभिमतम् ॥

कार्ये यः सिद्धशब्द इति ॥ सङ्ग्रहे तावत् कार्यप्रतिद्वन्द्विभावान्मन्यामहे नित्यपर्यायवाचिनो ग्रहणमिति ; इहापि तदेव ॥

Oh Sir, the word सिद्ध is used also in connection with transient objects; Ex. सिद्ध ओदनः (Food is ready); सिद्धः सूपः (Dhal is ready): सिद्धा यवागूः (the yavāgū preparation is ready). Since the word is used in connection with transient objects also, how can it be said that it means *nitya* and not *kārya*? Since the word is used in the Saṅgraha as antonym to *kārya*, we infer that it means *nitya* there; so also here.

Since the word is used in Saṅgraha as an antonym to *kārya*, it is but right that it means *nitya* there. Since there is no criterion here to decide its meaning one way or the other, Mahābhāṣyakāra suggests another way to come to the same conclusion.

अथवा सन्त्येकपदान्यपि अवधारणानि । तद्यथा—अब्भक्षो वायुभक्ष इति, अप एव भक्षयति, वायुमेव भक्षयति इति गम्यते ; एवमिहापि सिद्ध एव, न साध्य इति ॥

Or even single words have the restrictive sense. Ex. अब्भक्षः and वायुभक्षः. They respectively mean, 'one who feeds himself *only* on water' and 'one who feeds himself *only* on air.' Similarly the word सिद्ध here means *only* सिद्ध and not *sādhya*.

The defect that underlies this explanation is this. The words अब्भक्षः and वायुभक्षः are compound words, while the word सिद्ध is a single word. In splitting the compound the word एव which denotes restriction may be brought in. Such is not the case with single words. Hence Mahābhāṣyakāra tries to explain it thus.

अथवा पूर्वपदलोपोऽत्र द्रष्टव्यः—अत्यन्तसिद्धः सिद्ध इति ; तद्यथा देवदत्तो दत्तः, सत्यभामा भामा इति ॥

Or it may be considered that a word which preceded सिद्ध has been dropped, its original form being अत्यन्तसिद्ध in the same way as दत्तः is the shortened form of देवदत्तः; and भामा of सत्यभामा.

The defect that underlies this explanation is this. In the case of the words दत्तः and भामा standing respectively for देवदत्तः and सत्यभामा, it should be noted that देवदत्तः and सत्यभामा are mentioned at the first instance and only later on for the sake of brevity दत्तः and भामा are used.* The same is not the case here. Besides there is nothing to suggest that the word सिद्ध is used here to denote अत्यन्तसिद्ध.

Hence Mahābhāṣyakāra suggests the final solution thus:—

अथवा व्याख्यानतो विशेषप्रतिपत्तिः न हि सन्देहादलक्षणम् इति, नित्यपर्यायवाचिनो ग्रहणमिति व्याख्यास्यामः ॥

If so, we explain that the word सिद्ध means नित्य since a text cannot be thrown away on the ground that it is not clear. Its correct sense should be understood from the commentaries or the interpretation given by the commentators.

किं पुनरनेन वर्ण्येन ? किं न महता कण्ठेन नित्यशब्द एवोपात्तः, यस्मिन्नुपादीयमानेऽसन्देहः स्यात् ?

Why should he give room for this kind of interpretation? Why should he not, with his open mouth, have given expression to the word *nitya*, when there would be no ambiguity?

* *Cf.* ननु अनुच्चारितस्य देवदत्तशब्दस्य पाणिनिरन्यो वा कश्चित् समर्थो लोपं कर्तुम्
(Bhartṛhari's Pradīpikā.)

मङ्गलार्थम् । माङ्गलिक आचार्यो महतः शास्त्रौघस्य मङ्गलार्थं सिद्धशब्दमादितः प्रयुङ्क्ते । मङ्गलादीनि हि शास्त्राणि प्रथन्ते, वीरपुरुषाणि* च भवन्ति आयुष्मत्पुरुषाणि† च, अध्येतारश्च सिद्धार्था यथा स्युः इति ॥

For the sake of *maṅgala* (auspiciousness). The *Ācārya* (Kātyāyana), eager of reaping the fruit of *maṅgala* said **सिद्ध** for the sake of maṅgala at the commencement of his great work. The works which start with *maṅgala* shine well and enable the scholars to become heroic and long-lived and to have their objects fully accomplished.

NOTE :—It deserves notice that the appellation **आचार्य** is applied by Patañjali not only to Pāṇini but also to Kātyāyana.

Then the author begins to show that even if the word *nitya* is used instead of *siddha*, it is not free from ambiguity—

अयं खलु नित्यशब्दः नावश्यं कूटस्थेष्वविचालिषु भावेषु वर्तते । किं तर्हि? आभीक्ष्ण्येऽपि वर्तते, तद्यथा नित्यप्रहसितो नित्यप्रजल्पितः§ इति। यावता आभीक्ष्ण्येऽपि वर्तते तत्राप्यनेनैवार्थः स्यात्, 'व्याख्यानतो विशेषप्रतिपत्तिः न हि सन्देहादलक्षणम्' इति। पश्यति तु आचार्यो मङ्गलार्थश्चैव सिद्धशब्द आदितः प्रयुक्तो भविष्यति, शक्ष्यामि चैनं नित्यपर्यायवाचिनं‡ वर्णयितुमिति । अतः सिद्धशब्द एवोपात्तो न नित्यशब्दः ।

Even this word *nitya* does not invariably connote eternity. What then? It is used to connote repetition also. Ex. **नित्यप्रहसितः** (One who ever laughs) and **नित्यप्रजल्पितः** (one who ever prattles). Since it connotes repetition also, it should be

* वीरपुरुषकाणि is another reading

† आयुष्मत्पुरुषकाणि is another reading.

§ नित्यप्रज्वलितः is another reading.

‡ नित्यपर्यायम् is another reading.

free from ambiguity only by the interpretation of the commentators. The *Ācārya* thinks that the word *siddha* is used at the commencement for the sake of *maṅgala* and I am able to interpret that it means *nitya*. Hence is the use of the word *siddha* and not *nitya*.

Having thus discussed the meaning of the word **सिद्धे**, the author begins to deal with the statement **शब्दे अर्थे सम्बन्धे** and discusses whether the word *artha* denotes *genus* or *individuality*.

अथ कं पुनः पदार्थं मत्वा एष विग्रहः क्रियते 'सिद्धे शब्दे अर्थे सम्बन्धे च' इति ? आकृतिमित्याह । कुत एतत् ? आकृतिर्हि नित्या द्रव्यमनित्यम् ।

With what meaning (genus or individuality) in mind is the compound split thus **शब्दे अर्थे सम्बन्धे**? 'Akṛti' (genus), says he. Why so? For *ākṛti* is *nityā* and *dravya* is *anitya*.

अथ द्रव्ये पदार्थे कथं विग्रहः कर्तव्यः ? सिद्धे शब्दे अर्थसम्बन्धे च इति । नित्यो हि अथवतामर्थैरभिसम्बन्धः ॥

If *dravya* is *padārtha*, how is the compound split? It is split thus **शब्दे अर्थसम्बन्धे**; for, the relation of the word to its meaning is *nitya*, (though the meaning in the form of *dravya* is *anitya*).

The author then takes the word *ākṛti* to connote shape and in that case begins to deal with the nature of the splitting of the compound—

अथवा द्रव्य एव पदार्थे एष विग्रहो न्याय्यः—सिद्धे शब्दे अर्थे सम्बन्धे चेति ; द्रव्यं हि नित्यम्, आकृतिरनित्या। कथं ज्ञायते ? एवं हि दृश्यते लोके मृत् कयाचिदाकृत्या युक्ता पिण्डो भवति, पिण्डाकृतिमुपमृद्य घटिकाः क्रियन्ते, घटिकाकृतिमुपमृद्य कुण्डिकाः क्रियन्ते; तथा सुवर्णं कयाचिदाकृत्या युक्तं पिण्डो भवति, पिण्डाकृतिमुपमृद्य रुचकाः

क्रियन्ते, रुचकाकृतिमुपमृद्य कटकाः क्रियन्ते, कटकाकृतिमुपमृद्य स्वस्तिकाः क्रियन्ते । पुनरावृत्तः सुवर्णपिण्डः पुनरपरयाकृत्या युक्तः खदिराङ्गारसवर्णे कुण्डले भवतः । आकृतिरन्या चान्या च भवति, द्रव्यं पुनस्तदेव । आकृत्युपमर्देन द्रव्यमेवावशिष्यते ॥

Or the compound is split thus—**शब्दे अर्थे सम्बन्धे** even when the meaning of the word is *dravya*; for the *dravya* always remains the same, while the shape is changing. How is it? Thus it is seen in the world—Mud in one shape becomes a clod; it is broken and it is converted into small pots; that shape is destroyed and the same mud is made into jars. So also is gold. In one shape it is a ball; it is destroyed and the gold is converted into rings; they are destroyed and it is made into bracelets; that shape is destroyed and it is made into a kind of amulets; that being destroyed, it is made into ear-rings as bright as red-hot charcoal of ebony wood. The shape changes from one to another, but the material remains the same. Though the shape is destroyed, the material remains.

आकृतावपि पदार्थ एष विग्रहो न्याय्यः—सिद्धे शब्दे अर्थे सम्बन्धे चेति । ननु चोक्तम् 'आकृतिरनित्या' इति । नैतदस्ति । नित्या आकृतिः । कथम्? न क्वचिदुपरतेति कृत्वा सर्वत्रोपरता भवति, द्रव्यान्तरस्था तु उपलभ्यते ॥

Even accepting *ākṛti* to be *padārtha*, it is but proper to split the compound thus **शब्दे अर्थे सम्बन्धे**. Has it not been said that *ākṛti* is *anityā*? No, it is *nityā*. How? Though it is not seen at one place, it does not fail to exist in all places; it is found in other objects (of the same genus).

NOTE. Here it should be borne in mind that *ākṛti* when it is considered to be *nityā*, means *genus* and when it is considered to be *anityā*, it means *shape*.

अथवा नेदमेव नित्यलक्षणम्—ध्रुवं कूटस्थम् अविचालि अनपायोपजनविकारि अनुत्पत्त्यवृद्ध्यव्ययोगि यत् तन्नित्यमिति । तदपि नित्यं यस्मिंस्तत्त्वं न विहन्यते । किं पुनस्तत्त्वम्? तद्भावस्तत्त्वम् । आकृतावपि तत्त्वं न विहन्यते ।

Or this is not the definition of *nitya* :—that which is free from **संसर्गानित्यता**, **परिणामानित्यता** and **प्रध्वंसानित्यता***; but that from which its inherent property is never severed is nitya. What is *tattva*? *It-ness* is *tattva*. The *tattva* is never separated from *ākṛti*.

NOTE. **संसर्गानित्यता** is seen from the apparent red-crystal in the proximity of red-flower. The relation of redness and crystal is *anitya*, since it disappears at the disappearance of the red flower. **परिणामानित्यता** is seen in the process of a fruit becoming a ripe fruit. The relation with its colour when it is not ripe disappears when it becomes ripe and hence the colour is *anitya*. **प्रध्वंसानित्यता** is complete destruction.

* *Cf.* ध्रुवं कूटस्थमिति संसर्गानित्यता परिहृता ; अविचालीति परिणामानित्यता ; अनपायेत्यादिना प्रध्वंसानित्यता (Pradīpa).

ध्रुवं = स्वाभाविकवस्त्वन्तरसंसर्गरहितम् ; कूटस्थम् = आगन्तुकेन संसर्गरहितम् ; अविचालि = अपरिणामि । अपायोपजनविकाररहितमित्यस्यैव व्याख्यानम्—अनुत्पत्त्यवृद्ध्यव्ययोगीति ; षड्भावविकारराहित्यं वानेन भाष्येणोच्यते—तत्र, अपायः = नाशः, उपजनः = सत्तासम्बन्धोऽस्तित्वम्, विकारः = परिणामः, उत्पत्तिवृद्धी प्रसिद्धे, व्ययः = अपक्षयः इति (Uddyōtana).

ध्रुवपदस्यैव व्याख्यानं कूटस्थमिति ; रूपान्तरापत्तिर्विचालः, यथा पयसो दध्यादिरूपता, अनेन परिणामानित्यता परास्ता ; उत्पत्तेः सत्तापर्यन्तत्वात् अनुत्पत्तीत्यनेन जन्मसत्तारूपौ भावविकारौ निरस्तौ ; अवृद्धीत्यनेन तृतीयो वृद्धिलक्षणः; अनुपजनेति चतुर्थः परिणामः; अनपायेति पञ्चमः अपचयः; अव्ययेति षष्ठो विनाशः (Uddyōta).

It deserves to be noted that Nāgōjibhaṭṭa has not given the meaning of अविकारि ; both he and Annambhaṭṭa differ in the meanings of the words अपाय, उपजन and व्यय.

उत्पत्तिः = Birth ; उपजनः = Existence or stability ; वृद्धिः = Growth ; विकारः = Transformation ; व्ययः = Reduction ; अपायः = Destruction.

अथवा किं न एतेन इदं नित्यं इदम् अनित्यम् इति । यन्नित्यं तं पदार्थं मत्वैष विग्रहः क्रियते—सिद्धे शब्दे अर्थे सम्बन्धे चेति ॥

Or what is the use of this discussion that one is *nitya* and the other *anitya?* When we take the meaning to be *nitya*, we split the compound thus : शब्दे अर्थे सम्बन्धे.

कथं पुनर्ज्ञायते सिद्धः शब्दोऽर्थः सम्बन्धश्चेति? 'लोकतः' । यल्लोके अर्थमर्थमुपादाय शब्दान्प्रयुञ्जते, नैषां निर्वृत्तौ यत्नं कुर्वन्ति । ये पुनः कार्या भावाः निर्वृत्तौ तावत्तेषां यत्नः क्रियते, तद्यथा घटेन कार्यं करिष्यन् कुम्भकारकुलं गत्वाह—कुरु घटं, कार्यमनेन करिष्यामीति । न तद्वच्छब्दान् प्रयुयुक्षमाणो वैयाकरणकुलं गत्वा आह कुरु शब्दान् प्रयोक्ष्ये इति । तावत्येव अर्थमुपादाय शब्दान् प्रयुञ्जते ।

How is it understood that *śabda*, *artha* and *sambandha* are *nitya?* From the world. For words are used to denote objects and no effort is made to coin them. Effort is taken in creating such things as are *kārya*. For instance he who has the use of a pot goes to the potter's house and says, 'Make a pot; I have to use it.' But no one similarly goes to the house of a grammarian and says, 'Coin words; I shall make use of them.' He thinks of the object and makes use of words denoting them.

यदि तर्हि लोक एषु* प्रमाणम्, किं शास्त्रेण क्रियते? 'लोकतोऽर्थप्रयुक्ते शब्दप्रयोगे शास्त्रेण धर्मनियमः'। लोकतोऽर्थप्रयुक्ते शब्दप्रयोगे शास्त्रेण धर्मनियमः क्रियते । किमिदं धर्मनियम इति? धर्माय नियमो धर्मनियमः, धर्मार्थो वा नियमः धर्मनियमः, धर्मप्रयोजनो वा नियमः धर्मनियमः ॥

If then the world is the authority for the use of words, what purpose is served by the Vyākaraṇa śāstra? When words

* एषु शब्देषु is another reading.

are used in the sense in which each is current in the world, injunction to use the correct word is made by the śāstra for the sake of *dharma*. *Dharma-niyama*, what does it mean? It means *niyama* for *dharma*, *niyama* for the sake of *dharma* and *niyama* having for its fruit *dharma*.

NOTE. It deserves to be noted that Kāiyaṭa clearly says that the compound *dharma-niyamaḥ* should be split only as *dharmasya niyamaḥ*. If so, Mahābhāṣyakāra does not mention how the compound is split, but brings out the sense of the compound. All the three ways mentioned there —**धर्माय नियमः**, **धर्मार्थो वा नियमः** and **धर्मप्रयोजनो वा नियमः** may be taken to mean the same. The only difference is that the second is more explanatory than the first and the third is more explanatory than the second. What is, then, the meaning of *dharma*? It may be interpreted in three ways:

1. नित्यकर्म *Cf.* निष्कारणो धर्मः षडङ्गो वेदोऽध्येयः ज्ञेयश्च (M. B. I. 1, 1).
2. यज्ञकर्म *Cf.* याज्ञे कर्मणि स नियमः । (M. B. I, 1, 1).
3. अपूर्वम् *Cf.* ज्ञाने धर्म इति चेत्तथाधर्मः । (M. B. I, 1, 1).

Nāgōjibhaṭṭa says (as the opinion of some) that in **धर्माय नियमः** **धर्म** has the first meaning, in **धर्मार्थो वा नियमः** it has the second meaning and in **धर्मप्रयोजनो वा नियमः** it has the third meaning. But it is better to take that it has all the three meanings in each.

यथा लौकिकवैदिकेषु । प्रियतद्धिता दाक्षिणात्याः, यथा लोके वेदे चेति प्रयोक्तव्ये यथा लौकिकवैदिकेष्विति प्रयुञ्जते । अथवा युक्त एवात्र तद्धितार्थः, यथा लौकिकेषु वैदिकेषु च कृतान्तेषु । लोके तावत् अभक्ष्यो ग्राम्यकुक्कुटः, अभक्ष्यो ग्राम्यसूकर*

* *Cf.* Bōdhāyana Dharmasūtra 1, 12, 1.

इत्युच्यते । भक्ष्यं च नाम क्षुत्प्रतिघातार्थमुपादीयते, शक्यं चानेन श्वमांसादिभिरपि क्षुत्प्रतिहन्तुम्, तत्र नियमः क्रियते—इदं भक्ष्यम् इदम् अभक्ष्यम् इति । तथा खेदात् स्त्रीषु प्रवृत्तिर्भवति, समानश्च खेदविगमो गम्यायां च अगम्यायां च, तत्र नियमः क्रियते इयं गम्या इयम् अगम्या इति ॥

As in *lāukika* and *vāidika* incidents†. The Southerners are fond of using words with taddhita suffixes (without special significance). They, instead of using **लोके** and **वेदे**, use **लौकिकवैदिकेषु**. Or it is but proper that the taddhita suffix has a meaning. The term **लौकिकवैदिकेषु** may be taken to mean **लौकिकेषु वैदिकेषु च कृतान्तेषु**. There is with reference to the worldly incident, the saying that the domestic cock should not be eaten nor the domestic pig; food is taken to remove hunger; it may be removed by any one even with dogs' meat; there is the restriction made that one is eatable and the other is non-eatable. Similarly man meets woman to satisfy his sexual passion; it may be had in meeting any woman deserving or non-deserving; there is the restriction made that one is meet-able and the other is non-meet-able.

NOTE. The mention of the word **दाक्षिणात्य** suggests that Kātyāyana was a Southerner, while both the *Sūtrakāra* and the *Bhāṣyakāra* were Northerners. Some think that there is a little sneer here.

वेदे खल्वपि—पयोव्रतो ब्राह्मणः, यवागूव्रतो राजन्यः, आमिक्षाव्रतो वैश्यः इत्युच्यते; व्रतं च नाम अभ्यवहारार्थमुपादीयते; शक्यं चानेन शालिमांसादीन्यपि व्रतयितुम्; तत्र नियमः क्रियते । तथा बैल्वः खादिरो वा यूपः स्यात् इत्युच्यते;

† The expression लौकिकवैदिकेषु is taken to mean in the *smṛti* and *śruti* texts by Kāiyaṭa and others. But on viewing this with शब्दप्रयोगे it is better to take it in the sense 'in the incidents of the world and Vēdic rituals.' In that case शास्त्रेण धर्मनियमः is understood after लौकिकवैदिकेषु.

यूपश्च नाम पश्वनुबन्धार्थमुपादीयते ; शक्यं चानेन यत्किंचिदेव काष्ठमुच्छ्रित्य अनुच्छ्रित्य वा पशुरनुबन्धुम्; तत्र नियमः क्रियते । तथा अग्नौ कपालान् अधिश्रित्य अभिमन्त्रयते—भृगूणामङ्गिरसां घर्मस्य तपसा तप्यध्वम् इति ; अन्तरेणापि मन्त्रम् अग्निर्दहनकर्मा कपालानि सन्तापयति ; तत्र च नियमः क्रियते—एवं क्रियमाणमभ्युदयकारि भवतीति ॥

So with reference to the Vēdic rituals it is said that during austerities Brāhmaṇa, if hungry, may take milk, Kṣattriya *Yavāgū*, and Vāiśya curd of milk and whey; *Vrata* intends only food; Rice and meat may serve the same purpose; still restriction is made. So also it is said that the stake to which the sacrificial animal is tied should be of *bilva* tree or *khadira* tree; the stake is intended to tie the sacrificial animal; any piece of wood standing upright or otherwise may serve the purpose; there is the restriction made. Similarly *kapāla's*—small pieces of mud—are put in fire and the mantra which means, 'Heat them with the intense heat of Bhṛgus and Aṅgiras' is pronounced; the small pieces will be heated whether the mantra is recited or not; there is the restriction made that, if it is done so, it begets merit.

एवमिहापि समानायामर्थावगतौ शब्देन चापशब्देन च, धर्मनियमः क्रियते—शब्देनैव अर्थोऽभिधेयो, नापशब्देन इति; एवं क्रियमाणमभ्युदयकारि भवतीति ॥

So here also though the meaning is understood both from the correct word and the corrupt one, still restriction is made that meaning is to be made out only from the correct word, since from it alone accrues merit.

The meaning of the first *vārttika* having been fully explained, there arises a doubt whether word that is not current in the world is correct or not, since it has been said there that it is used only in such meanings as are current in the world.

अस्त्यप्रयुक्तः—

सन्ति वै शब्दा अप्रयुक्ताः ; तद्यथा, ऊष तेर चक्र पेच इति ।

Is but not current—there are evidently words which are not current; *viz, ūṣa, tēra, cakra, pēca.*

किमतो यत्सन्त्यप्रयुक्ताः ? What if there are words not current ?

प्रयोगाद्धि भवाञ्छब्दानां साधुत्वमध्यवस्यति। य इदानीम् अप्रयुक्ताः नामी साधवः स्युः।इदं तावद्विप्रतिषिद्धम्—यदुच्यते सन्ति वै शब्दा अप्रयुक्ता इति—, यदि सन्ति नाप्रयुक्ताः, अथाप्रयुक्ता न सन्ति, सन्ति च अप्रयुक्ताश्चेति विप्रतिषिद्धम् ॥

For only from usage you determine the correctness of words. Those which are not now in usage cannot be correct. This is at first contradictory to say that there are words but they are not in usage; if they are, they cannot have fallen out of use, and if they have fallen out of use, they cannot exist; they exist but they are not in use is contradictory.

प्रयुञ्जान एव खलु भवानाह सन्ति शब्दा अप्रयुक्ता इति ; कश्चेदानीमन्यो भवज्जातीयकः पुरुषः शब्दानां प्रयोगे साधुः स्यात् ?

You use the words and say at the same time that they are out of use. Who else of your type can make correct use of words ?

नैतद्विप्रतिषिद्धम्—सन्तीति तावद् ब्रूमः,* यदेतान् शास्त्रविदः शास्त्रेणानुविदधते। अप्रयुक्ता इति ब्रूमः, यल्लोके अप्रयुक्ता इति । यदप्युच्यते कश्चेदानीमन्यो भवज्जातीयकः पुरुषः शब्दानां प्रयोगे साधुः स्यादिति, न ब्रूमोऽस्माभिरप्रयुक्ता इति ।

This is not contradictory; we first say that they exist since they are formed from the rules of grammar; then

* Note the use of the plural by the pupil. This shows that he has lost his balance.

we say that they are not in use since they are not used in the world. As regards the statement—who else of your type can make correct use of words?—we do not say that they are not used by us.

किं तर्हि? What then?

लोके अप्रयुक्ता इति. They are not made use of in the world.

ननु च भवानप्यभ्यन्तरो लोके? Are not you one in the world?

अभ्यन्तरोऽहं लोके, न त्वहं लोकः। I am one in the world, but not the whole world.*

अस्त्यप्रयुक्त इति चेन्न, अर्थे शब्दप्रयोगात्†—

अस्त्यप्रयुक्त इति चेत् तन्न। किं कारणम्? अर्थे शब्दप्रयोगात्—अर्थे शब्दाः प्रयुज्यन्ते, सन्ति चैषां शब्दानामर्थाः येष्वर्थेषु प्रयुज्यन्ते ॥

"Is but not current" cannot be said, for words are used to express ideas. If it is said, "Is but not current," it can be denied. How? On account of the use of words to express ideas—words are used to express ideas and there are ideas, to express which the words are used.

अप्रयोगः प्रयोगान्यत्वात्—

अप्रयोगः खल्वप्येषां शब्दानां न्याय्यः, कुतः? प्रयोगान्यत्वात्, यदेतेषां शब्दानामर्थे अन्याञ्छब्दान् प्रयुञ्जते; तद्यथा, ऊषेत्यस्य शब्दस्यार्थे क यूयमुषिताः, तेरेत्यस्यार्थे क यूयं तीर्णाः, चक्रेत्यस्यार्थे क यूयं कृतवन्तः, पेचेत्यस्यार्थे क यूयं पक्ववन्तः इति।

* He suggests that he uses such words to denote the *form* of the word, while ordinary people use words only to express *ideas*.

† The objection raised is successfully met by five reasons :— (1) *arthē śabdaprayōgāt*, (2) *aprayōgaḥ prayōgānyatvāt*, (3) *aprayuktē dīrghasattravat*, (4) *sarvē dēśāntarē* and (5) *vēdē*.

Non-use on account of the use of other (synonymous) expressions—It is but proper that these words are not in use. Why? On account of other expressions—since other expressions are used to convey the idea of these words, *viz.* '*Kva yūyam uṣitāḥ*' in place of '*ūṣa*,' '*kva yūyam tīrṇāḥ*' in place of '*tēra*,' '*kva yūyam kṛtavantaḥ*' in place of '*cakra*' and '*kva yūyam pakvavantaḥ*' in place of '*pēca*.'

अप्रयुक्ते दीर्घसत्त्रवत्—

यद्यप्यप्रयुक्ताः तथापि अवश्यं दीर्घसत्त्रवल्लक्षणेनानुविधेयाः । तद्यथा दीर्घसत्त्राणि वार्षशतिकानि वार्षसहस्रिकाणि* च, न चाद्यत्वे कश्चिदपि व्यवहरति† केवलमृषिसम्प्रदायो‡ धर्म इति कृत्वा याज्ञिकाः शास्त्रेणानुविदधते ।

Though not current, to be treated like *dīrghasattra*—Though they are not current, yet they should certainly be treated in grammar like *dīrghasattra*. Dīrghasattras are sacrifices performed in one hundred or one thousand days and they are not performed now-a-days. Still Yājñika's enjoin them in the chapters dealing with sacrifices in the Vēdas since it is considered that their study is a *nityakarma*.§

सर्वे देशान्तरे—

सर्वे खल्वप्येते शब्दा देशान्तरेषु** प्रयुज्यन्ते

All in other places—All of these words are certainly in use in other places.

* वर्षशब्दः दिवसपरः (Nāgōjibhaṭṭa)

† आहरति is the reading of Nāgōjibhaṭṭa.

‡ ऋषिसम्प्रदायः = वेदाध्ययनम् (Kāiyaṭa).

§ *Cf.* धर्मः = निष्कारणो धर्मः, नित्य इति यावत्; वेदाध्ययनं नित्यमिति कृत्वा, याज्ञिकाः आपस्तम्बादयः, सत्त्रप्रयोगमपि, शास्त्रेण = सूत्रेण अनुविदधते इति योजना. (Uddyōtana)

** देशान्तरे is another reading.

न चैवोपलभ्यन्ते*

But they are not known.

उपलब्धौ यत्नः क्रियताम् । महान् हि शब्दस्य प्रयोगविषयः—सप्तद्वीपा वसुमती, त्रयो लोकाः, चत्वारो वेदाः साङ्गाः सरहस्याः† बहुधा भिन्नाः एकशतमध्वर्युशाखाः, सहस्रवर्त्मा सामवेदः , एकविंशतिधा बाह्वृच्यं, नवधा आथर्वणो वेदः, वाकोवाक्यमितिहासः पुराणं वैद्यकमित्येतावाञ्छब्दस्य प्रयोगविषयः ॥

Let attempt be made to know them. Great is the range for the use of words—earth with its seven island-continents, three worlds, four vēdas with their *aṅgas* and *upaniṣads* with manifold varieties, Yajurvēda with 101 recensions, Sāmavēda with 1000 recensions, Ṛgvēda with 21 recensions, Atharvavēda with nine recensions, science of discussions, history, purāṇas, works on medicine.

एतावन्तं शब्दस्य प्रयोगविषयमननुनिशम्य सन्त्यप्रयुक्ता इति वचनं केवलं साहसमात्रमेव

Without noting such a range for the use of words, it is simple impudence to say that words exist, but at the same time are obsolete.

एतस्मिंश्चातिमहति शब्दस्य प्रयोगविषये ते ते शब्दास्तत्र तत्र नियतविषया दृश्यन्ते —तद्यथा शवतिर्गतिकर्मा कम्बोजेष्वेव भाषितो भवति, विकार एनमार्या भाषन्ते शव इति । हम्मतिः सुराष्ट्रेषु, रंहतिः प्राच्यमध्येषु, गमिमेव त्वार्याः प्रयुञ्जते । दातिर्लवनार्थे प्राच्येषु, दात्रमुदीच्येषु ॥

In this vast range of the use of words, particular words in particular meanings are current in different places; *viz.* the

* न चैते is another reading.

† *Rahasyam* = Upaniṣad, Manvādismṛtayō vā (Uddyōta.)

root *śav* is used in the sense of 'to go' in Kambōja; Aryas make use of that root only in the word *śava* (which means a corpse); the root *hamm* in Surāṣṭra, and *raṁh* in east and midland countries are used in the sense of 'to go': Aryas use only the root *gam*. The word *dāti* is used in the eastern countries in the sense of 'cutting' and *dātra* in the northern countries.

ये चाप्येते भवतोऽप्रयुक्ता अभिमताः शब्दाः, एतेषामपि प्रयोगो दृश्यते । क ? वेदे—तद्यथा, सप्तास्ये रेवती रेवदूष (R. V. IV. 51, 4.), यद्वो रेवती रेवत्यां तमूष, यन्मे नरः श्रुत्यं ब्रह्म चक्र (R. V. I, 165, 11) यत्रा नश्चक्रा जरसं तनूनाम् (R. V. I. 89, 9) इति ॥

Even such words as are in your opinion obsolete are in use. Where? In Vēda—*viz. saptāsyē rēvatī rēvad ūṣa, yadvō rēvatī rēvatyām tam ūṣa, yan mē naraḥ śrutyam brahma cakra, yatrā naścakrā jarasam tanūnām.*

Next arises the doubt whether merit accrues from *śabdajñāna* or *śabda-prayōga* since it is said in the vārttika 'lōkataḥ arthaprayuktē śabda-prayōgē, śāstrēṇa dharma-niyamaḥ.' Kāiyaṭa says that the following topic arises from the śruti.

एकः शब्दः सम्यग् ज्ञातः शास्त्रान्वितः सुप्रयुक्तः स्वर्गे लोके कामधुग् भवति,

where it is doubtful whether the importance is upon *jñāna* or *prayōga*.*

किं पुनः शब्दस्य ज्ञाने धर्मः आहोस्वित् प्रयोगे ?

* Nāgōjibhaṭṭa says that *jñāna* may be considered important and *prayōga* accessory, as *jñāta* is read first in the s'ruti or *jñāna* may be considered accessory to *prayōga*, since all *jñānas* except *ātma-jñāna* are needed only for application.

Does merit accrue from the *knowledge* of correct words or from the *use* of correct words?

कश्चात्र विशेषः ?

What is the difference here?

ज्ञाने धर्म इति चेत्तथा अधर्मः

ज्ञाने धर्म इति चेत्तथाधर्मोऽपि प्राप्नोति । यो हि शब्दाञ्जानाति अपशब्दान्प्यसौ जानाति । यथैव शब्दज्ञाने धर्मः एवमपशब्दज्ञानेऽप्यधर्मः ॥

If merit accrues from knowledge, so also will demerit. If it is considered that merit accrues from knowledge, demerit also will accrue; for he who knows correct words knows their corruptions also; as merit accrues from the knowledge of correct words, so also will demerit accrue from that of their corruptions.

अथवा भूयानधर्मः प्राप्नोति। भूयांसो ह्यपशब्दाः, अल्पीयांसः शब्दाः । एकैकस्य शब्दस्य बहवोऽपभ्रंशाः —तद्यथा गौरित्यस्य गावी गोणी गोता गोपोतलिका इत्येवमादयोऽपभ्रंशाः ॥

Or greater demerit will accrue; for greater in number are the corruptions and smaller in number are correct words. For every correct word there are many corruptions. *viz.* **गावी, गोणी, गोता, गोपोतलिका** etc., are the corrupt forms of one single word **गौः**

आचारे नियमः

आचारे पुनर्ऋषिर्नियमं वेदयते—तेऽसुरा हेऽलयो हेऽलय इति कुर्वन्तः पराबभूवुः इति

Injunction in use; Vēda suggests injunction by the statement **तेऽसुरा...पराबभूवुः** (Those Asuras met with disaster by using **हेऽलयो हेऽलयः**)

अस्तु तर्हि प्रयोगे

If so, let the merit accrue from *prayōga*.

प्रयोगे सर्वलोकस्य

यदि प्रयोगे धर्मः सर्वो लोकोऽभ्युदयेन युज्येत

If it is from prayōga, it will be of the whole world. If merit accrues from *prayōga*, the whole world will get merit.

कश्चेदानीं भवतो मत्सरो यदि सर्वो लोकोऽभ्युदयेन युज्येत ?

Why should you be envious if the whole world get merit ?

न खलु कश्चिन्मत्सरः । प्रयत्नानर्थक्यं तु भवति । फलवता च नाम प्रयत्नेन भवितव्यम् । न च प्रयत्नः फलाद्व्यतिरेच्यः ॥

There is no envy. The effort will be fruitless. It is indeed necessary that every effort should bear fruit. Effort should not be deprived of fruit.

ननु च ये कृतप्रयत्नास्ते साधीयः शब्दान् प्रयोक्ष्यन्ते, त एव साधीयोऽभ्युदयेन योक्ष्यन्ते

Oh! Only those who have worked in grammar make use of words very correctly and hence only they can very well meet with merit.

व्यतिरेकोऽपि वै लक्ष्यते—दृश्यन्ते हि कृतप्रयत्नाश्चाप्रवीणाः, अकृतप्रयत्नाश्च प्रवीणाः ; तत्र फलव्यतिरेकोऽपि स्यात्

Reverse also is seen ; It is seen that those who have worked in grammar are not able to use correct words and those who have not worked at it are able to use correct words. Hence the fruit also will be reversed.

एवं तर्हि नापि ज्ञाने एव धर्मः, नापि प्रयोग एव ।

If so, there is no merit in the knowledge alone nor in the application alone.

किं तर्हि ?

Where then ?

शास्त्रपूर्वके प्रयोगेऽभ्युदयस्तत्तुल्यं वेदशब्देन

शास्त्रपूर्वकं यः शब्दान् प्रयुङ्क्ते सोऽभ्युदयेन युज्यते ; तत्तुल्यं वेदशब्देन* । वेदशब्दा अप्येवमभिवदन्ति 'योऽग्निष्टोमेन यजते य उ चैनमेवं वेद' 'योऽग्निं नाचिकेतं चिनुते य उ चैनमेवं वेद' ॥

Merit only from the *prayōga* after the study of grammar and it is similar to the sacrifices signified by the Vēdic expressions. He who makes use of words after the study of grammar meets with merit. It is similar to those which are signified by Vēdic expressions. They say thus :—He who performs *Agniṣṭōma* and knows how it should be done ; he who performs *Nācikētacayana* and knows how it should be done.

अपर आह तत्तुल्यं वेदशब्देनेति—यथा वेदशब्दा नियमपूर्वमधीताः फलवन्तो भवन्त्येवं यः शास्त्रपूर्वकं शब्दान् प्रयुङ्क्ते सोऽभ्युदयेन युज्यत इति

Another interprets the expression *tat tulyam vēda-śabdēna* thus :—As the Vēdic texts studied according to the enjoined rules are fruitful, so also he who makes use of words after studying grammar meets with merit.

From the above it is clear that, according to the Vārttikakāra, merit accrues only from *prayōga* preceded by

* Vēdas'abdaḥ is split in two ways : (1) *Vēdaḥ śabdaḥ* (*bōdhakaḥ, pramāṇam vā*) *yasya saḥ* and (2) *Vēdaś cāsāu śabdaśca.*

vyākaraṇādhyayana. Mahābhāṣyakāra seems to differ from him and hence opens the same topic again.

अथवा पुनरस्तु ज्ञान एव धर्म इति

Or let the merit accrue only from knowledge.

ननु चोक्तम् ज्ञाने धर्म इति चेत्तथाधर्म इति

Was it not said that if *dharma* is from *jñāna*, *adharma* will similarly accrue?

नैष दोषः, शब्दप्रमाणका वयम्, यच्छब्द आह तदस्माकं प्रमाणम्। शब्दश्च शब्दज्ञाने धर्ममाह, नापशब्दज्ञानेऽधर्मम्। यच्च पुनरशिष्टाप्रतिषिद्धं नैव तद् दोषाय भवति, नाभ्युदयाय। तद्यथा हिक्कितहसितकण्डूयितानि नैव दोषाय भवन्ति नाभ्युदयाय॥

No, this harm will never be. We have *śabda* for our authority; whatever *śabda* says is authority for us; *śabda* says that merit accrues from the knowledge of words and it does not say that demerit accrues from the knowledge of corrupt words. That which is neither enjoined nor forbidden produces neither merit nor demerit *viz.*, hiccough, laugh, and scratching produce neither demerit nor merit.

अथवा अभ्युपाय एवापशब्दज्ञानं शब्दज्ञाने। यो ह्यपशब्दाञ्जानाति शब्दानप्यसौ जानाति। तदेवं ज्ञाने धर्म इति ब्रुवतोऽर्थादापन्नं भवति—'अपशब्दज्ञानपूर्वके शब्दज्ञाने धर्मः' इति

Or the knowledge of corrupt forms of words leads to that of correct ones; he who knows the corrupt forms knows the correct ones also. Hence the statement of him who says that knowledge gives merit leads of its own accord to the inference that knowledge of correct words preceded by that of corrupt forms gives merit.

*अथवा, कूपखानकवदेतद्भविष्यति—तद्यथा, कूपखानकः कूपं खनन् यद्यपि मृदा पांसुभिश्चावकीर्णो भवति, सोऽप्सु संजातासु तत एव तं गुणमासादयति, येन च स दोषो निर्हण्यते, भूयसा चाभ्युदयेन योगो भवति । एवमिहापि यद्यप्यपशब्दज्ञानेऽधर्मस्तथापि यस्त्वसौ शब्दज्ञाने धर्मस्तेन च स दोषो निर्घानिष्यते, भूयसा चाभ्युदयेन योगो भविष्यति ॥

Or this may be like a well-sinker. A well-sinker, though he is stuck in the mud and is covered with dust in the process of sinking the well, gets himself rid of the mud and dust with the water as soon as he reaches it, and gets plenty of good from it. So also here even though demerit accrues from the knowledge of corrupt words, yet merit accrues from that of correct ones, which destroys the effect of the former and leads to much good.

यदप्युच्यते आचारे नियमः इति याज्ञे कर्मणि स नियमोऽन्यत्रानियमः । एवं हि श्रूयते—यर्वाणस्तर्वाणो नाम ऋषयो बभूवुः प्रत्यक्षधर्माणः परापरज्ञाः विदितवेदितव्या अधिगतयाथातथ्याः—ते तत्रभवन्तो यद्वानस्तद्वान इति प्रयोक्तव्ये यर्वाणस्तर्वाण इति प्रयुञ्जते, याज्ञे पुनः कर्मणि नापभाषन्ते । तैः पुनरसुरैर्याज्ञे कर्मण्यपभाषितम्, ततस्ते पराभूताः ।

As regards the statement *ācāre niyamaḥ*, it should be taken that the *niyama* holds only to sacrifice so that there may be *aniyama* elsewhere. For it is mentioned in the Vēdas that the revered sages named *Yarvāṇa* and *Tarvāṇa* who could see everything with their mind's eye, who could distinguish the infinite and finite, who had *śravaṇa*, *manana* and *nididhyāsana* of *ātman* and who had become one with *paramātman* used the words *yarvāṇaḥ* and *tarvāṇah* instead of *yadvānaḥ* and *tadvānaḥ* (in ordinary conversation) and pro-

* This line of argument is taken on the maxim तुष्यतु दुर्जनः

nounced the correct words in sacrifices. Those *asuras*, on the other hand, pronounced corrupt words in sacrifices and hence met with disaster.

Here it should be noted that the Vārttikakāra and the Mahābhāṣyakāra differ in their views on this topic. The former decides that one gets merit only when he uses correct words (in sacrifices and elsewhere) knowing them as such through his study of grammar. Hence the mere study of grammar does not bear any fruit and only those who have studied grammar and make correct use of them can get dharma. But on the other hand Mahābhāṣyakāra decides that the study of grammar brings *dharma* (ज्ञाने धर्मः) and only correct words should be used in sacrifices whether they have studied grammar or not (याज्ञे कर्मणि नियमः)

VIII

In the first *vārttika*, the statement शास्त्रेण धर्मनियमः is found. There the word शास्त्र denotes व्याकरण. This is evident from the following statements of Mahābhāṣyakāra रक्षार्थं वेदानामध्येयं व्याकरणम्, तस्मादध्येयं व्याकरणम्, न चान्तरेण व्याकरणम्, किं पुनरिदं व्याकरणमेवाधिजिगांसमानेभ्यः, व्याकरणं स्माधीयते, ऽनर्थकं व्याकरणम् etc.

Now begins the the discussion on the meaning of the word *vyākaraṇa*.

अथ व्याकरणमित्यस्य शब्दस्य कः पदार्थः ?

Now what is the meaning of the word *vyākaraṇa*?

सूत्रम् Sūtra.

सूत्रे व्याकरणे षष्ठ्यर्थोऽनुपपन्नः

सूत्रे व्याकरणे षष्ठ्यर्थो नोपपद्यते—व्याकरणस्य सूत्रम् इति। किं तर्हि तदन्यत्सूत्राद् व्याकरणम्, यस्यादः सूत्रं स्यात् ?

Vyākaraṇa being sūtra, unsuitability of the sixth case meaning. If *Vyākaraṇa* means *sūtra*, sixth case meaning in the expression "*Vyākaraṇasya sūtram*" won't suit. Is it then that *vyākaraṇa* is different from sūtra, so that it may be said that this sūtra is of that?

शब्दाप्रतिपत्तिः

शब्दानां चाप्रतिपत्तिः प्राप्नोति, व्याकरणात् शब्दान्प्रतिपद्यामहे इति। न हि सूत्रत एव शब्दान्प्रतिपद्यन्ते।

Non-knowledge of *śabdas*. Knowledge of words cannot be had in the manner in which it is generally known that we get the knowledge of words from *Vyākaraṇa*; for words are not understood only from sūtras.

किं तर्हि? Whence then?

व्याख्यानतश्च From the commentary also.

ननु च तदेव सूत्रं विगृहीतं व्याख्यानं भवति?

Is it not that the same sūtra split into words becomes commentary?

न केवलानि चर्चापदानि व्याख्यानम् वृद्धिः आत् ऐच् इति

The mere repetition of words composing a sūtra like *vṛddhiḥ*, *āt*, *aic* does not serve as commentary.

किं तर्हि? What then?

उदाहरणं प्रत्युदाहरणं वाक्याध्याहार इत्येतत्समुदितं व्याख्यानं भवति

Example, counter-example, filling-up the ellipsis in the sentence—all these put together form the commentary.

एवं तर्हि शब्दः

If so, *śabda* is *vyākaraṇa*.

शब्दे ल्युडर्थः

यदि शब्दो व्याकरणं ल्युडर्थो नोपपद्यते, व्याक्रियन्ते शब्दा अनेनेति व्याकरणम् । न हि शब्देन किंचिद् व्याक्रियते ।

Śabda being *Vyākaraṇa*, the (unsuitability of the) meaning of the suffix *ana*. If śabda is taken to be *vyākaraṇa*, the meaning of the suffix *ana* in the word *vyākaraṇa* does not suit since it is derived as *vyākriyantē śabdā anēna*; for nothing is analysed into *prakṛti* and *pratyaya* on the authority of *śabda*.

केन तर्हि ? If so, by what?

सूत्रेण । By sūtra.

भवे च तद्धितः

भवे च तद्धितो नोपपद्यते, व्याकरणे भवो योगो वैयाकरण इति । न हि शब्दे भवो योगः

The unsuitability of the secondary suffix in the sense of *bhava*. The secondary suffix which has the sense of *existing* in the word *vāiyākaraṇa*, which means the sūtra in *vyākaraṇa*, does not suit; for sūtra does not exist in *śabda*.

क्व तर्हि ? Where then?

सूत्रे In the sūtra.

प्रोक्तादयश्च तद्धिताः

प्रोक्तादयश्च तद्धिता नोपपद्यन्ते, पाणिनिना प्रोक्तं पाणिनीयम्, आपिशलं काशकृत्स्नम् इति । न हि पाणिनिना शब्दाः प्रोक्ताः ।

Besides, the unsuitability of the secondary suffixes used in the sense 'said by' etc. The secondary suffixes used in the sense 'said by' etc. in the words *Pāṇinīyam*—that which is said by *Pāṇini—Āpiśalam, Kāśakṛtsnam* do not fit in; for *śabdas* are not said by Pāṇini.

किं तर्हि? What then?

सूत्रम् Sūtra.

किमर्थमिदमुच्यते भवे प्रोक्तादयश्च तद्धिता इति, न प्रोक्तादयश्च तद्धिताः इत्येव, भवेऽपि तद्धितश्चोदितः स्यात्?

What for have the two—*bhavē*, *prōktādayaśca taddhitāḥ* been said here instead of the latter alone, since it can include the former also?

पुरस्तादिदमाचार्येण दृष्टम् भवे च तद्धितः इति, तत् पठितम्; तत उत्तरकालमिदं दृष्टं प्रोक्तादयश्च तद्धिताः इति, तदपि पठितम्; न चेदानीमाचार्याः सूत्राणि कृत्वा निवर्तयन्ति।

First this struck Ācārya '*bhavē ca taddhitaḥ*' and it was read; then was he struck with '*prōktādayaśca taddhitāḥ*' and it was read. Ācāryas do not stop after writing the sūtras without revising them.

अयं तावददोषः यदुच्यते शब्दे ल्युडर्थः इति। नावश्यं करणाधिकरणयोरेव ल्युड् विधीयते।

The objection *śabdē lyuḍarthaḥ* does not stand, since the suffix *ana* is not invariably used in the sense of instrument or place of action.

किं तर्हि? Where then?

अन्येष्वपि कारकेषु—कृत्यल्युटो बहुलम् इति, तद्यथा प्रस्कन्दनं, प्रपतनम् इति।

In the meanings of other cases also; it is used to denote *apādāna* as in the words *praskandana* and *prapatana.**

अथवा शब्दैरपि शब्दा व्याक्रियन्ते† – तद्यथा गौरित्युक्ते सर्वे सन्देहा निवर्तन्ते, नाश्वो न गर्दभ इति

Or words are explained by words—*viz.* on saying the word *gāuḥ*, all doubts whether the object denoted is horse or ass are removed.

अयं तर्हि दोषः—भवे प्रोक्तादयश्च तद्धिताः इति

Then this defect '*bhavē prōktādayaśca taddhitāḥ*' stands.

एवं तर्हि

लक्ष्यलक्षणे व्याकरणम्

लक्ष्यं च लक्षणं चैतत्समुदितं व्याकरणं भवति

If so, *Vyākaraṇa* consists of *lakṣya* and *lakṣaṇa*. Both *lakṣya* and *lakṣaṇa* form *Vyākaraṇa*.

किं पुनर्लक्ष्यं लक्षणं च? What is *lakṣya* and what is *lakṣaṇa?*

शब्दो लक्ष्यः, सूत्रं लक्षणम् Word is *lakṣya* and sūtra is *lakṣaṇa*.

एवमप्ययं दोषः, समुदाये व्याकरणशब्दः प्रवृत्तोऽवयवे नोपपद्यते, सूत्राणि चाप्यधीयान इष्यते वैयाकरण इति

* *Praskandana* = the place from which one has slipped; *prapatana* = the place from which one has fallen.

† Here *vyākṛti* does not mean the determination of *prakṛti* and *pratyaya*, but *viparītavyāvṛtti* and *sadṛśasaṅgraha*.

Even then there is this defect that the word *vyākaraṇa* which denotes a whole cannot denote its part. But one who studies sūtras alone is taken to be a *vāiyākaraṇa*.

नैष दोषः, समुदायेषु हि शब्दाः प्रवृत्ताः अवयवेष्वपि वर्तन्ते, तद्यथा—पूर्वे पञ्चालाः, उत्तरे पञ्चालाः, तैलं भुक्तं, घृतं भुक्तं, शुक्लो नीलः कपिलः कृष्ण इति। एवमयं समुदाये व्याकरणशब्दः प्रवृत्तोऽवयवेष्वपि वर्तते ।

It is no defect, for words denoting wholes are used to denote parts also. *viz.* *East Pañcāla, North Pañcāla, *tāila* is taken in, *ghṛta* is taken in; white, blue, brown, and black, objects. So also the word *vyākaraṇa* used here to denote the whole may denote a part also.

Vārttikakāra has thus closed the topic with the conclusion that Vyākaraṇa includes *lakṣya* and *lakṣaṇa*. Mahābhāṣyakāra is not satisfied with it and hence reopens the topic and decides that *lakṣaṇa* (sūtra) alone is denoted by the word *vyākaraṇa*.

अथवा पुनरस्तु सूत्रम् Or let it denote only sūtra.

ननु चोक्तम् सूत्रे व्याकरणे षष्ठ्यर्थोऽनुपपन्नः इति ?

Has it not been said that if *vyākaraṇa* denotes sūtra, the meaning of the sixth case does not suit ?

नैष दोषः ; व्यपदेशिवद्भावेन भविष्यति

* The word Pañcāla denotes the whole; but in the expressions Pūrvē Pañcālāḥ etc. it denotes a part. *Tāila* and *ghṛta* denote medicated oil and ghee, so that they refer to the ingredients also which form a part of them. Though the word *śukla* denotes only white object, yet it includes also the black border in a white cloth.

It is no defect. It can be removed by adopting the principle of व्यपदेशिवद्भाव*

यदप्युच्यते शब्दाप्रतिपत्तिः इति, नहि सूत्रत एव शब्दान् प्रतिपद्यन्ते । किं तर्हि? व्याख्यानतश्चेति; परिहृतमेतत्, तदेव सूत्रं विगृहीतं व्याख्यानं भवतीति।

The objection '*śabdāpratipattiḥ...vyākhyānataśca*' was met by the statement '*tadēva sūtram vigṛhītam vyākhyānam bhavati.*'

ननु चोक्तं न केवलानि चर्चापदानि व्याख्यानं वृद्धिः आत् ऐज् इति। किं तर्हि, उदाहरणं प्रत्युदाहरणं वाक्याध्याहार इत्येतत्समुदितं व्याख्यानं भवतीति?

Has it not been said '*na kēvalāni...bhavati*'?

अविजानत एतदेवं भवत । सूत्रत एव हि शब्दान् प्रतिपद्यन्ते। आतश्च सूत्रत एव । यो ह्युत्सूत्रं कथयेन्नादो† गृह्येत ।

This is with the dullard; for words are learnt only from sūtras. If, on the other hand, one deviates from *sūtra*, the sound alone and not the substance will be taken to account.

Having thus discussed the meaning of the word *Vyākaraṇa*, and before handling the first sūtra of Ācārya Pāṇini, Mahābhāṣyakāra has to deal with the Māhēśvarasūtras made use of by *Pāṇini* and discussed by Vārttikakāra. He does this in the next *āhnika* in detail. In order that this

* *Cf.* Nimittasadbhāvāt mukhyavyapadēśō yasya asti, sa vyapadēs'ī, yastu vyapadēs'ahētvabhāvāt avidyamānavyapadēs'aḥ sa tēna tulyam vartatē kāryam prati iti vyapadēs'ivad bhavati iti ucyatē (Kāiyaṭa 1-1-5 sūtra 21). Though *rāhu* and *śiras* are identical, yet there is the *vyavahāra "rāhośśiraḥ"* where mind takes *rāhu* to be a whole and *s'iras* to be a part. So also tho' *vyākaraṇa* and *sūtra* are identical, yet in the prayōga 'vyākaranasya sūtram' the former is taken to be the whole and the latter a part.

† नादः may mean *Sound* or *not this*

āhnika may lead to it, he closes this with the next topic which deals with the Māhēśvarasūtras as a whole, and which was handled by Vārttikakāra.

IX

When sounds are known from *mātṛkākṣara*, why should Pāṇini have made use of the Māhēśvarasūtras ?*

अथ किमर्थो वर्णानामुपदेशः ?

Now what for are the Māhēśvarasūtras ?

वृत्तिसमवायार्थ उपदेशः

वृत्तिसमवायार्थो वर्णानामुपदेशः

Upadēśa is for *vṛttisamavāya.* Māhēśvarasūtras are intended to supply different groups of letters suited to Pāṇini's method of composing sūtras.

किमिदं वृत्तिसमवायार्थ इति ?

Here what is *vṛttisamavāyārtha ?*

वृत्तये समवायो वृत्तिसमवायः, वृत्त्यर्थो वा समवायो वृत्तिसमवायः, वृत्तिप्रयोजनो वा समवायो वृत्तिसमवायः ।

Samavāya for *vṛtti, samavāya* for the sake of *vṛtti* and *samavāya* having for its fruit *vṛtti.*†

का पुनर्वृत्तिः? What then is *vṛttiḥ ?*

शास्त्रप्रवृत्तिः

Method of composing *sūtra* (Pāṇini's grammar).

* Even though the literal meaning is this, yet it should be taken to mean why should Pāṇini make use of Māhes'varasūtras when there is mātṛkākṣara.

† It should be noted that *vṛttisamavāya* should have for its *vigraha, vṛttēḥ samavāyaḥ,* Besides it is clear from this statement that the 14 sūtras are not the work of Pāṇini.

अथ कः समवायः? What then is *samavāya?*

वर्णानामानुपूर्व्येण सन्निवेशः

The grouping of letters in particular settings.

अथ क उपदेशः? What then is *upadēśa?*

उच्चारणम् Manifestation (when *ḍhakkā* was beaten).

कुत एतत्? How is this?

दिशिरुच्चारणक्रियः, उच्चार्य हि वर्णानाह, उपदिष्टा इमे वर्णा इति

The root *diś* means to pronounce; only by pronouncing the letters it is said that these letters are pronounced.

अनुबन्धकरणार्थश्च

अनुबन्धकरणार्थश्च वर्णानामुपदेशः, अनुबन्धानासङ्क्ष्यामि इति, न ह्यनुपदिश्य वर्णाननुबन्धाः शक्या आसङ्क्तुम् ।

For the sake of *anubandhakaraṇa.* Māhēśvarasūtras are intended for *anubandha* or indicatory letter, so that I may associate them (with other letters). Without the sūtras, the letters cannot be associated with indicatory letters (which are called इत् by Pāṇini),

स एष वर्णानामुपदेशो वृत्तिसमवायार्थश्च अनुबन्धकरणार्थश्च; वृत्तिसमवायश्चानुबन्धकरणं च प्रत्याहारार्थम्, प्रत्याहारो वृत्त्यर्थः ।

This list of Māhēśvarasūtras is for *vṛttisamavāya* and *anubandhakaraṇa. Vṛttisamavāya* and *anubandhakaraṇa* are for *pratyāhāra* and *pratyāhāra* is to facilitate the making of the *śāstra.*

इष्टबुद्ध्यर्थश्च

इष्टबुद्ध्यर्थश्च वर्णानामुपदेशः, इष्टान् वर्णान् भोत्स्यामहे इति । न ह्यनुपदिश्य वर्णानिष्टा वर्णाः शक्या विज्ञातुम्*

* Here भोत्स्यामहे and विज्ञातुम् are causal.

For the sake of enumerating the needed ones. Māhēśvara-sūtras are needed to give expression to the needed letters so that we may enumerate the needed letters. Without the sūtras it is not possible to express the needed letters alone.

इष्टबुद्ध्यर्थश्चेति चेदुदात्तानुदात्तस्वरितानुनासिकदीर्घप्लुतानामप्युपदेशः

इष्टबुद्ध्यर्थश्चेति चेदुदात्तानुदात्तस्वरितानुनासिकदीर्घप्लुतानामप्युपदेशः कर्तव्यः, एवंगुणा अपि हि वर्णा इष्यन्ते

If it is said *iṣṭabuddhyarthaśca*, *upadēśa* of letters with *udātta*, *anudātta* and *svarita*, accent and the nasalised, long and *pluta* letters (is needed). If it is said *iṣṭabuddhyarthaśca*, letters with *udātta, anudātta* and *svarita* accents and the nasalised, long and pluta letters should be read in the 14 sūtras, since we need letters having these qualities also.

आकृत्युपदेशात्सिद्धम्

अवर्णाकृतिरुपदिष्टा सर्वमवर्णकुलं ग्रहीष्यति, तथेवर्णाकृतिस्तथोवर्णाकृतिः

It is accomplished by taking that the genus of the letters is mentioned. The genus 'a' when pronounced includes the the whole 'a-family'; so is the genus 'i' and the genus 'u'. †

आकृत्युपदेशात्सिद्धम् इति चेत् संवृतादीनां प्रतिषेधः

आकृत्युपदेशात् सिद्धमिति चेत् संवृतादीनां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः

If it is said that it is accomplished by taking the genus, prohibition of *saṁvṛta* and others. If it is said that it is accomplished by taking the genus, the letters with the defects of *saṁvṛta* etc. should be prohibited.

† It must be noted that though the genus cannot be pronounced without individuality, yet prominence is given to the genus part of it.

के पुनः संवृतादयः ? What, then, are *saṁvṛtādi*?

संवृतः, कलः, ध्मातः, एणीकृतः, अम्बूकृतः, अर्धकः, ग्रस्तः, निरस्तः, प्रगीतः, उपगीतः, क्ष्विण्णः, रोमशः, इति । अपर आह

ग्रस्तं निरस्तमवलम्बितं* हत-
मम्बूकृतं ध्मातमथो विकम्पितम्।
सन्दष्टमेणीकृतमर्धकं द्रुतं
विकीर्णमेताः स्वरदोषभावनाः ॥ इति

अतोऽन्ये व्यञ्जनदोषाः

They are sounds which are closed, pronounced in wrong place, lengthened, ambiguous, not clear, shortened, inaudible, harsh, sung, attached to the syllable that is sung, shaking, and superloud. In the opinion of another the defective sounds are those which are inaudible, harsh, mixed with another sound, unpleasant to the ear, not clear, lengthened, shaking, prolonged, ambiguous, shortened, quick and going into another sound. Distinct from these are the defective ways of pronouncing consonants.

नैष दोषः This defect cannot stand.

गर्गादिबिदादिपाठात् संवृतादीनां निवृत्तिः

गर्गादिबिदादिपाठात् संवृतादीनां निवृत्तिर्भविष्यति

The defects—saṁvṛta and others are avoided by *gargādipāṭha* and *bidādipāṭha*. The defects—*saṁvṛta* and others are avoided by Pāṇini's reading the collections of words headed by *Garga* and *Bida*.

* अविलम्बितं निर्हतम् is another reading.

*अस्त्यन्यद् गर्गादिबिदादिपाठे प्रयोजनम्

There is another purpose served by *gargādibidādipāṭha.*

किं? What?

समुदायानां साधुत्वं यथा स्यात् इति

So that the whole words like *Garga* may be taken to be correct (and not their parts).

एवं तर्हि अष्टादशधा भिन्नां निवृत्तकलादिकाम् अवर्णस्य प्रत्यापत्तिं वक्ष्यामि†

If so, sūtras इ इ, उ उ etc., like अ अ will be read so that each letter may denote only one of the correct eighteen and not the defective ones.

सा तर्हि वक्तव्या Then should it be read.

लिङ्गार्था तु प्रत्यापत्तिः

लिङ्गार्था सा तर्हि भवति

The repetition will signify something. It (repetition like इ इ, उ उ) will, then, have certain significance (that whatever defects each letter may have had in *prakriyādaśā,* it is free from them in *prayōgadaśā*).

तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् Then should it be read.

यद्यप्येतदुच्यते, अथवैतर्हि अनेकमनुबन्धशतं नोच्चार्यम्, इत्संज्ञा च न वक्तव्या, लोपश्च न वक्तव्यः। यदनुबन्धैः क्रियते तत्कलादिभिः करिष्यते

* In the Benares edition it is conjectured that there should be a vārttika समुदायसाधुत्वार्थं तु गर्गादिबिदादिपाठः

† *Cf.* अवर्णस्य अअ इति कृतैव, तद्वत् तदनन्तरमन्येषामपि करिष्यामि इति भावः (Uddyōta)

If it is said so, then thousands of *anubandhas* (like क् and ट् in टक्) need not be said, they need not be named इत् and the sūtra हलन्त्यम् which enjoins their *lōpa* need not be read.

सिध्यत्येवम् । अपाणिनीयं तु भवति । यथान्यासमेवास्तु ।

The object is then accomplished; but it goes against Pāṇini's sūtras. Hence let the sūtras be as they are.

ननु चोक्तम् 'आकृत्युपदेशात्सिद्धमिति चेत्संवृतादीनां प्रतिषेधः' इति

Has it not been said that, if everything is accomplished by *ākṛtyupadēśa*, prohibition of saṁvṛta and others is to be made.

परिहृतमेतत्—गर्गादिबिदादिपाठात् संवृतादीनां निवृत्तिर्भविष्यति इति

That objection has been met by the statement that the defects—saṁvṛta and others are avoided by *gargādibidādi-pāṭha*.

ननु चान्यद् गर्गादिबिदादिपाठे प्रयोजनमुक्तम्?

Oh! another was said to be the purpose served by *gargādi-bidādipāṭha*.

किम्? What?

समुदायानां साधुत्वं यथा स्यादिति

So that the whole words may be taken to be correct.

एवं तर्हि उभयमनेन क्रियते, पाठश्चैव विशेष्यते, कलादयश्च निवर्त्यन्ते

If so, both are accomplished by it—the correct reading is understood and the defects are removed.

कथं पुनरेकेन यत्नेनोभयं लभ्यम्?

How can both be accomplished through one effort?

लभ्यमित्याह Can be accomplished, says he.

कथम्? How?

द्विगता अपि हेतवो भवन्ति। तद्यथा—आम्राश्च सिक्ताः पितरश्च प्रीणिता इति तथा वाक्यानि द्विष्ठानि भवन्ति—श्वेतो धावति, अलम्बुसानां* याता इति।

There are causes which have two effects :—*viz.*, Mango trees are watered and manes are satisfied. So also are sentences having two meanings—*viz.*, *śvētō dhāvati* (white man cleans; dog runs from here); *alambusānām yātā*. (He who goes to *alambusā*; one that can get the colour of straw).

अथवा इदं तावदयं प्रष्टव्यः—केमे संवृतादयः श्रूयेरन्निति।

Or he is to be put this question, "where can be heard the defective sounds like *saṁvṛta?*"

आगमेषु In augments.

आगमाः शुद्धाः पठ्यन्ते Augments are correctly read.

विकारेषु तर्हि If so, in *ādēśas.*

विकारा अपि शुद्धाः पठ्यन्ते Ādēśas also are correctly read.

प्रत्ययेषु तर्हि If so, in *pratyayas.*

प्रत्यया अपि शुद्धाः पठ्यन्ते
Even *pratyayas* are correctly read.

धातुषु तर्हि In roots then.

धातवोऽपि शुद्धाः पठ्यन्ते Even roots are correctly read.

प्रातिपदिकेषु तर्हि In stems then.

* बुसानाम् = पलालवूर्णानाम्; (Annambhaṭṭa) पलालवर्णानाम् (Nāgōjibhaṭṭa)

प्रातिपदिकान्यपि शुद्धानि पठ्यन्ते Even stems are correctly read.

यानि तर्ह्यग्रहणानि प्रातिपदिकानि ?

Those stems which are not derivable from roots?

एतेषामपि स्वरवर्णानुपूर्वीज्ञानार्थ उपदेशः कर्तव्यः, शशः षष इति मा भूत्, पलाशः पलाष इति मा भूत्, मञ्चको मञ्जक इति मा भूत्

Enumeration of such stems also need be made so that the nature and order of sounds in them may be known and **शश, पलाश,** and **मञ्चक** may not be misread as **षष, पलाष** and **मञ्जक** respectively.

आगमाश्च विकाराश्च प्रत्ययाः सह धातुभिः ।
उच्चार्यन्ते ततस्तेषु नेमे प्राप्ताः कलादयः ॥

Augments, substitutes and suffixes are correctly read with roots. Hence there is no opportunity for the defects like *kala* to happen there.

From the above it is clear that the objection "**इष्टबुद्ध्यर्थ-श्चेति···उपदेशः**" does not stand. Hence **इष्टबुद्ध्यर्थश्च** need not be mentioned as a *prayōjana.**

इति श्रीमद्भगवत्पतञ्जलिविरचिते महाभाष्ये प्रथमाध्यायस्य प्रथमपादे प्रथममाह्निकम् ॥

Paspaśāhnika† ends.

* *Cf.* वर्णोपदेशस्य मुख्यं फलं तु प्रत्याहारनिष्पत्तिः (S'abdakāustubha).

† Annambhaṭṭa in his *Uddyōtana* has quoted a verse which says that the word *paspaśa* means *upōdghāta* or introduction.

शास्त्रस्यारम्भको ग्रन्थ उपोद्घात इतीरितः ।
स एव ग्रन्थसन्दर्भः पस्पशः कथितो बुधैः ॥

He has mentioned the word पस्पशः in the masculine gender. But Nāgōjibhaṭṭa has mentioned पस्पशा in the feminine gender. *Cf.* अत एव पस्पशायाम् भाष्ये (Laghumañjūṣa) under the topic बुद्धवाक्यं न प्रमाणम् in तिङर्थ-निरूपण.

2. प्रत्याहाराह्निकम्

Having dealt with the use of the fourteen Māhēśvarasūtras *in toto* at the end of the previous *āhnika*, Mahābhāṣyakāra deals with the following eight sūtras in detail in this *āhnika* :- अइउण्, ऋऌक्, एओङ् ऐऔच्, हयवरट्, लण्, ञमङणनम् and झभञ्. Hence this āhnika is called प्रत्याहाराह्निकम्.

अइउण्

There are three topics in this sūtra. There should be vivṛtōpadēśa (1) in अ of अइउण्, (2) in अ of roots, stems etc. and (3) in अ of the sūtras like अस्य च्वौ, यस्येति च.

I

अकारस्य विवृतोपदेश आकारग्रहणार्थः

अकारस्य विवृतोपदेशः कर्तव्यः *। किं प्रयोजनम् ? आकारग्रहणार्थः—अकारः सवर्णग्रहणेन आकारमपि यथा गृह्णीयात्

The *vivṛtōpadēśa* of *akāra* is to comprehend *ākāra* also. The *vivṛtōpadēśa* of *akāra* is necessary. Why? For the sake of comprehending *ākāra*—so that *akāra* may comprehend *ākāra* by the sūtra अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः which enables अण् and उदित् to comprehend *savarṇas*.

* This sentence may be interpreted in two ways :—(1) The *vivṛtōpadēśa* suggested by the sūtra 'अ अ' is necessary. or (2) *vivṛtōpadēśa* must be enjoined to अ. In the latter case both vivṛtōpadēś'a and its reason are enjoined and in the former case the reason alone.

किं च कारणं न गृह्णीयात् ?

Why will it not comprehend?

विवारभेदात्

By the difference in their *ābhyantara-prayatna.*

किमुच्यते विवारभेदादिति न पुनः कालभेदादपि, यथैव ह्ययं विवारभिन्नः एवं कालभिन्नोऽपि ?

How is it that mention is made of the difference in *ābhyantaraprayatna* alone and not of the difference in *mātrā* also, since it (*ākāra*) differs from *akāra* in mātrā in the same way as it differs from it in *ābhyantaraprayatna?*

सत्यमेवमेतत्; वक्ष्यति "तुल्यास्यप्रयत्नं सवर्णम्" इत्यत्र आस्यग्रहणस्य प्रयोजनम् 'आस्ये येषां तुल्यो देशः प्रयत्नश्च ते सवर्णसंज्ञा भवन्ति इति; बाह्यश्च पुनरास्यात्कालः*', तेन स्यादेव कालभिन्नस्य ग्रहणं न पुनर्विवारभिन्नस्य।

True, so is it; Mahābhāṣyakāra is going to say in the bhāṣya under the sūtra **तुल्यास्यप्रयत्नं सवर्णम्** that the need for the word **आस्यम्** in the sūtra is to suggest that only such sounds as have the same place of articulation and the manner of articulation within the *mouth* become *savarṇas.* Quantity of a sound is determined outside the mouth. Hence one sound can comprehend another having different quantity but not having different *ābhyantaraprayatna.*

किं पुनरिदं† विवृतस्योपदिश्यमानस्य प्रयोजनमन्वाख्यायते, आहोस्वित् संवृतस्योपदिश्यमानस्य विवृतोपदेशश्चोद्यते ?

* नाभिप्रदेश एव विशिष्टप्रयत्नारम्भात् दीर्घादिनिष्पत्त्या नाभेश्च आस्यात् बाह्यत्वात् कालस्य बाह्यत्वम् (Kaiyaṭa). नाभिप्रदेश एव वायोः प्रकारप्रयत्नमारभ्यते इति कालस्य बाह्यत्वम् अस्त्येव (Pradīpikā)

† इदम् = अत्र *Cf.* इदमहममुमवबाध (शतपथब्राह्मणम् 1. 3. 5. 7).

Is it here that the purpose of *vivṛtōpadēśa* is enumerated or that *vivṛtōpadēśa* is enjoined to that which has *saṁvṛtōpadēśa?*

विवृतस्योपदिश्यमानस्य प्रयोजनमन्वाख्यायते
The purpose of *vivṛtōpadēśa* is enumerated.

कथं ज्ञायते? How is it so interpreted?

यदयम् अ अ इत्यकारस्य विवृतस्य संवृततात्प्रत्यापत्तिं शास्ति

Since the *Sūtrakāra* enjoins in the sūtra अ अ that the *vivṛta-akāra* becomes *saṁvṛta* by the *pratyāpatti.*

नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकम्, अस्ति ह्यन्यदेतस्य वचने प्रयोजनम्

This sūtra does not suggest it; for another purpose is served by it.

किम्? What is it?

अतिखट्वः अतिमालः इत्यत्र आन्तर्यतो विवृतस्य विवृतः प्राप्नोति, संवृतः स्यादित्येवमर्था प्रत्यापत्तिः

Vivṛta-akāra will replace *vivṛta-ākāra* in the words अतिखट्वः and अतिमालः on account of similarity; the *pratyāpatti* is for the sake of *saṁvṛta-akāra* replacing *vivṛta-ākāra* in them.

नैतदस्ति; नैव लोके न च वेदे अकारो विवृतोऽस्ति*

No, that cannot be; there is no *vivṛta-akāra* either in ordinary usage or in Vēda.

कस्तर्हि?
If so, which is it (that is found in *lōka* or Vēda)?

* It may be interesting to note that *a* is now pronounced in Southern India only as an open sound and it may be due to the influence of the pronunciation of *a* in Tamil language.

संवृतः । योऽस्ति स भविष्यति । तदेतत्प्रत्यापत्तिवचनं* ज्ञापकमेव भविष्यति विवृतस्योपदिश्यमानस्य प्रयोजनमन्वाख्यायत इति

Saṁvṛta-akāra. That which is, appears there. Hence the statement of *pratyāpatti* suggests that the purpose of *vivṛtōpadēśa* is enumerated.

कः पुनरत्र विशेषः विवृतस्योपदिश्यमानस्य प्रयोजनमन्वाख्यायेत, संवृतस्योपदिश्यमानस्य वा विवृतोपदेशः चोद्येत इति ?

What is the speciality here whether it is taken that the purpose of *vivṛtōpadēśa* is enumerated or that *vivṛtōpadēśa* is enjoined to that which has *saṁvṛtōpadēśa?*

न खलु कश्चिद्विशेषः; आहोपुरुषिकामात्रं तु; भवानाह संवृतस्योपदिश्यमानस्य विवृतोपदेशश्चोद्यते इति, वयं तु ब्रूमः विवृतस्योपदिश्यमानस्य प्रयोजनमन्वाख्यायत इति
No speciality whatsoever; it is only conceit; you say that *vivṛtōpadēśa* is enjoined to that which has *saṁvṛtōpadēśa* and we say that the purpose of *vivṛtōpadēśa* is enumerated.

II

तस्य विवृतोपदेशादन्यत्रापि विवृतोपदेशः सवर्णग्रहणार्थः

तस्यैतस्याक्षरसमाम्नायिकस्य विवृतोपदेशादन्यत्रापि विवृतोपदेशः कर्तव्यः

On account of its *vivṛtōpadēśa*, there is need for *vivṛtōpadēśa* elsewhere to comprehend like sounds. Since there has been *vivṛtōpadēśa* in the *akāra* of अइउण् of the Māhēśvara-sūtras, there is need to declare *vivṛtōpadēśa elsewhere also.*

क्वान्यत्र ? Which does elsewhere refer to?

* प्रत्यापत्तिः = Reversion to original state. *Cf.* स्वरूपाद्धि प्रच्युतस्य पुनः स्वरूपे अवस्थानं प्रत्यापत्तिः (Uddyōtana).

धातुप्रातिपदिकप्रत्ययनिपातस्थस्य

The *akāra* in *dhātu*, *prātipadika*, *pratyaya* and *nipāta*.

किं प्रयोजनम् ? Why?

सवर्णग्रहणार्थः, आक्षरसमाम्नायिकेनास्य ग्रहणं यथा स्यात्

So that it may comprehend *like sounds*. So that this may be comprehended by the *akāra* of Māhēśvarasūtras.

किं च कारणं न स्यात् ?

Why will it not be comprehended?

विवारभेदादेव

Evidently through the difference in the *ābhyantaraprayatna*.

आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति भवत्याक्षरसमाम्नायिकेन धात्वादिस्थस्य ग्रहणमिति, यदयम् अकः सवर्णे दीर्घः इति प्रत्याहारे अको ग्रहणं करोति

Ācārya's usage suggests that the *akāra* of *dhātu*, etc., is comprehended by that in Māhēśvarasūtras since he uses the word *akaḥ* in the sūtra अकः सवर्णे दीर्घः

कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम् ?

How is it to be interpreted so that it may become a *jñāpaka*?

न हि द्वयोराक्षरसमाम्नायिकयोर्युगपत्समवस्थानमस्ति

For two *akāras* do not exist simultaneously in Māhēśvarasūtras.

नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकम्, अस्ति ह्यन्यदेतस्य वचने प्रयोजनम्

This cannot become a *jñāpaka*, for there is another purpose served by the use of this *akaḥ*.

किम्? What is it?

यस्याक्षरसमाम्नायिकेन ग्रहणमस्ति तदर्थमेतत्स्यात् खट्वाढकं, मालाढकम् इति

It is used where it can be applied to the *ākāras* comprehended by *a* in the Māhēśvarasūtras—*viz*., खट्वाढकम्, मालाढकम्.*

सति प्रयोजने न ज्ञापकं भवति, तस्मात् विवृतोपदेशः कर्तव्यः

If there is a *prayōjana*, it does not become a *jñāpaka* and hence there is need for *vivṛtōpadēśa*.

†क एष यत्नश्चोद्यते विवृतोपदेशो नाम, विवृतो वा उपदिश्येत संवृतो वा, को न्वत्र विशेषः?

What for is this attempt about *vivṛtōpadēśa?* Let *vivṛtōpadēśa* be made or *saṁvṛtōpadēśa ;* what is the difference?

स एष सर्व एवमर्थो यत्नः क्रियते, यान्येतानि प्रातिपदिकान्यग्रहणानि, तेषामेतेनाभ्युपायेन उपदेशश्चोद्यते, तद् गुरु भवति । तस्माद्वक्तव्यं धात्वादिस्थश्च विवृत इति

All this attempt is made for the sake of non-derivable stems. If this *vivṛtōpadēśa* is not made, all such stems will have to be read and it will be a stupendous task. Hence the *akāra* of *dhātu* etc., should have *vivṛtōpadēśa*.

दीर्घप्लुतवचने च संवृतनिवृत्त्यर्थः

दीर्घप्लुतवचने च संवृतनिवृत्त्यर्थो विवृतोपदेशःकर्तव्यः, दीर्घप्लुतौ संवृतौ मा भूताम् इति वृक्षाभ्यां, देवदत्ता३ इति

To ward off *saṁvṛtatva* in the long and pluta sounds. There is need for *vivṛtōpadēśa* to ward off *saṁvṛtatva* in long and

* It may be applied where *ā* and *ā* coalesce, since *ā* is comprehended by the *a* of अइउण् on the strength of the sūtra अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः

† This question is based upon the assumption that the *akāra* in *dhātu* etc., is read with *vivṛtaprayatna*.

pluta sounds (*i.e.*) that long and pluta sounds in words like वृक्षाभ्यां, देवदत्ता ३ may not become *saṁvṛta*.

नैव लोके न च वेदे दीर्घप्लुतौ संवृतौ स्तः

Neither in usage nor in Vēda are long and pluta sounds closed ones.

कौ तर्हि? What then?

विवृतौ, यौ स्तः तौ भविष्यतः
Open ones; those that are will certainly appear.

स्थानी प्रकल्पयेदेतावनुस्वारो यथा यणम्

संवृतः स्थानी संवृतौ दीर्घप्लुतौ प्रकल्पयेत्, अनुस्वारः यथा यणम्, तद्यथा सय्यँन्ता सव्वँत्सरः, यल्ँलोकं, तल्ँलोकम् इति; अनुस्वारः स्थानी यणमनुनासिकं प्रकल्पयति।

Sthānin will produce these two as *anusvāra* brings in nasalised semivowels. The closed *sthānin* will bring in closed long and pluta sounds as anusvāra brings in nasalised semivowels. *viz.*, सय्यँन्ता, सव्वँत्सरः, यल्ँलोकम्, तल्ँलोकम्. The *sthānin* which is anusvāra brings in nasalised semivowels.

विषम उपन्यासः, युक्तं यत्सतस्तत्र प्रक्लृप्तिर्भवति; सन्ति हि यणः सानुनासिका निरनुनासिकाश्च; दीर्घप्लुतौ पुनर्नैव लोके न च वेदे संवृतौ स्तः

The reasoning is not sound. It is but just to bring in what exists; there are semivowels both nasalised and non-nasalised; but the long and pluta sounds are closed ones neither in usage nor in Vēda.

कौ तर्हि? What then?

विवृतौ । यौ स्तः तौ भविष्यतः
Open sounds. Those that are will appear.

एवमपि कुत एतत् तुल्यस्थानौ प्रयत्नभिन्नौ भविष्यतः, न पुनस्तुल्यप्रयत्नौ स्थानभिन्नौ स्यातम् ईकार ऊकारो वेति.

Granting this, how is it that only those that have the same organ of articulation but different *prayatnas* are taken to be like sounds and not those who have the same *prayatna* but different organs of articulation, like *ī* and *ū*?

वक्ष्यति **स्थानेन्तरतमः** इत्यत्र स्थान इत्यनुवर्तमाने पुनः स्थानेग्रहणस्य प्रयोजनं यत्र अनेकविधमान्तर्यं तत्र स्थानतः आन्तर्यं बलीयो भवतीति* ।

He is going to say in the *bhāṣya* under the sūtra **स्थानेऽन्तरतमः** that, though the word **स्थाने** can be taken there to follow from the sūtra **षष्ठी स्थानेयोगा**, the mention of **स्थाने** there suggests that, of the many kinds of relationships, that from the organ of articulation predominates.

III

तत्रानुवृत्तिनिर्देशे† सवर्णाग्रहणमनण्त्वात्

तत्र अनुवृत्तिनिर्देशे सवर्णानां ग्रहणं न प्राप्नोति—**अस्य च्वौ, यस्येति च** । किं कारणम्? अनण्त्वात्, न ह्येते अणः येऽनुवृत्तौ

There in the *akāra* as in **अइउण्** there cannot be *savarṇa-grahaṇa* since it is not an *aṇ*. There in the sūtras **अस्य च्वौ, यस्येति च** where there is the mention of *akāra* as in **अइउण्** of the Māhēśvarasūtras, it cannot comprehend like sounds. Why? Since it does not come under the pratyāhāra *aṇ* Those which are in *anuvṛtti* are not *aṇaḥ*.

* स्थानत एवान्तर्यं बलीयो यथा स्यात् is another reading.

† अनुवृत्तिनिर्देशः—वृत्ति वर्णसमाम्नायम् अनुगतः तत्सदृशः अनुवृत्तिः अकारादिः, तस्य निर्देशः स्वरूपेण उच्चारणम् इत्यर्थः (उद्योत under अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः)

के तर्हि ?

If so, which are *aṇaḥ* ?

येऽक्षरसमाम्नाये उपदिश्यन्ते

Those that are read in *Māhēśvarasūtras.*

एकत्वादकारस्य सिद्धम्

एकोऽयमकारो यश्चाक्षरसमाम्नाये यश्चानुवृत्तौ यश्च धात्वादिस्थः

The point is achieved on account of oneness of *akāra.* This *akāra* is one whether it is in **अइउण, अस्य च्वौ** etc., or in *dhātu* etc.

अनुबन्धसंकरस्तु

अनुबन्धसंकरस्तु प्राप्नोति **कर्मण्यण्, आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः** इति, केऽपि णित्कृतं प्राप्नोति

Confusion in the effect of *anubandhas.* There will arise confusion in the effect of the different *anubandhas.* For instance, the operation of the sūtras **कर्मण्यण्** and **आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः** will be so confused that the effect of **णित्** will be found in **कित्.**

एकाजनेकाज्ग्रहणेषु चानुपपत्तिः

एकाजनेकाज्ग्रहणेषु चानुपपत्तिर्भवति*

Also the inapplicability of the sūtras dealing with *ēkāc* and *anēkāc.* There will arise inapplicability of the sūtras dealing with words having one vowel and those having many vowels.

तत्र को दोषः ? What will be the harm there ?

* भविष्यति is another reading. The word एकाच् generally means a syllable, but here it means a vowel.

किरिणा गिरिणा इत्येकाज्लक्षणमन्तोदात्तत्वं प्राप्नोति, इह च घटेन तरति घटिक इति द्व्यज्लक्षणः ष्ठन् न प्राप्नोति

In the words **किरिणा** and **गिरिणा** the final syllable will be accented since there is only one vowel *i* in both. So also the pratyaya *ika* (ṣṭhan) which is enjoined after a word having two vowels cannot appear after the word **घट** so that the word **घटिक** used in the sense of one who crosses with the help of a pot cannot be formed.

द्रव्यवच्चोपचाराः

द्रव्यवच्चोपचाराः प्राप्नुवन्ति । तद्यथा–द्रव्येषु नैकेन घटेन अनेको युगपत्कार्यं करोति; एवम् इममकारं नानेको युगपदुच्चारयेत्

Applications as in *dravyas*. Applications have to be done as in the case of *dravyas*. As many cannot simultaneously make use of one pot among *dravyas*, so also many cannot pronounce this *akāra* simultaneously.

The three objections raised against the statement **एकत्वादकारस्य सिद्धम्** are answered as follows :—

विषयेण तु नानालिङ्गकरणात्सिद्धम्

यदयं विषये विषये नानालिङ्गमकारं करोति—कर्मण्यण्, आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः इति तेन ज्ञायते नानुबन्धसङ्करोऽस्तीति। यदि हि स्यात् नानालिङ्गकरणमनर्थकं स्यात्, एकमेवायं सर्वगुणमुच्चारयेत्

The point is achieved on account of the different indications in each place. Since the Ācārya makes different indications in each place like '**ण्**' in **कर्मण्यण्** and **क्** in **आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः**, it is learnt that there is no confusion in the effect of *anubandhas*. Had there been any confusion, the reading of different indications will be of no avail; he would have read only one *akāra* with all *anubandhas*.

नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकम्, इत्संज्ञाप्रक्लृप्त्यर्थमेतत्स्यात्; न ह्ययमनुबन्धैः शल्यकवच्छक्य उपचेतुम्, इत्संज्ञायां हि दोषः स्यात्, आयम्य हि द्वयोरित्संज्ञा स्यात्। कयोः? आद्यन्तयोः

This is not a *jñāpaka* since it is intended to enable them get the designation of इत्; for it is not possible to heap *anubandhas* like porcupine (its quills), since in such a case there will be difficulty in getting the designation of इत्: all being put together, the designation of इत् is possible only for two. For which two? For the initial and the final sounds.

एवं तर्हि,

विपर्येण तु पुनर्लिङ्गकरणात्सिद्धम्

यदयं विषये विषये पुनर्लिङ्गमकारं करोति—प्राग्दीव्यतोऽण्, शिवादिभ्योऽण् इति। तेन ज्ञायते नानुबन्धसङ्करोऽस्तीति। यदि हि स्यात्पुनर्लिङ्गकरणमनर्थकं स्यात्।

If so, the point is achieved on account of the repetition of the same indicator in different places, like अण् in प्राग्दीव्यतोऽण्, शिवादिभ्योऽण्. Hence it is understood that there is no *anubandha-saṅkara*. If it were, the repetition of the same *anubandha* will be of no avail.

* अथवा पुनरस्तु

विपर्येण तु नानालिङ्गकरणात्सिद्धम्

इत्येव

Or let it be that the point is achieved on account of the different indicators in each place.

* This argument is perhaps Mahābhāṣyakāra's own.

ननु चोक्तम्—इत्संज्ञाप्रक्लृप्त्यर्थमेतत् स्यात् इति?

Has it not been said that it is intended to enable them get the designation of इत् ?

नैष दोषः। लोकत एतत्सिद्धम्। तद्यथा लोके कश्चिदेवं देवदत्तमाह—इह मुण्डो भव, इह जटिलो भव, इह शिखी भव, इति यल्लिङ्गो यत्रोच्यते तल्लिङ्गस्तत्रोपतिष्ठते। एवमयमकारो यल्लिङ्गो यत्रोच्यते तल्लिङ्गस्तत्रोपस्थास्यते।

No, that objection cannot stand. The purpose is achieved as it is in the world. For instance we see in the world one telling Dēvadatta, "Appear here with a shaven head, appear here with matted hair, appear here with a tuft" and Dēvadatta coming there with that particular mark. So also it is only that *akāra* having the mentioned indicator appears on the scene.

यदप्युच्यते 'एकाजनेकाज्ग्रहणेषु चानुपपत्तिः' इति,

एकाजनेकाज्ग्रहणेषु चावृत्तिसंख्यानात्

एकाजनेकाज्ग्रहणेषु चावृत्तेः संख्यानादनेकाच्त्वं भविष्यति। तद्यथा 'सप्तदश सामिधेन्यो भवन्ति' इति, 'त्रिः प्रथमामन्वाह त्रिरुत्तमाम्' इत्यावृत्तितः सप्तदशत्वं भवति। एवमिहाप्यावृत्तितोऽनेकाच्त्वं भविष्यति

The objection that was raised about the inapplicability of the sūtras dealing with *ēkāc* and *anēkāc* is met thus — by counting the repeated sound in the sūtras dealing with *ēkāc* and *anēkāc*. *Anēkāctva* is accomplished in the sūtras dealing with *ēkāc* and *anēkāc* by counting the repeated sounds. For instance *sāmidhēnī ṛks* are counted as seventeen (though they are only thirteen in number) by reading the first and the last *ṛks* thrice each. So also *anēkāctva* is accomplished here by the repetition of the same sound.

भवेदावृत्तिः कार्यं परिहृतम् । इह तु खलु किरिणा गिरिणा इत्येकाज्लक्षणमन्तोदात्तत्वं प्राप्नोति

The objection was met with by saying that the desired object is achieved by the repetition. But here in the words **किरिणा** and **गिरिणा**, only the final syllable will be accented since there is only one vowel **इ** in both.

एतदपि सिद्धम्

Here too the desired object is achieved.

कथम्? How?

लोकतः—तद्यथा ऋषिसहस्रमेकां कपिलामेकैकशः सहस्रकृत्वो दत्त्वा तया सर्वे ते सहस्रदक्षिणाः संपन्नाः । एवमिहापि अनेकाच्त्वं भविष्यति

From the world. A thousand of seers get the fruit of having given away in charity thousand cows though there is only one brown cow, each giving her thousand times (by purchasing it back every time from the recipient). So also *anēkāctva* is accomplished here.

* यदप्युच्यते 'द्रव्यवच्चोपचाराः प्राप्नुवन्तीति' भवेद् यदसंभवि कार्यं तन्नानेको युगपत्कुर्यात्; यत्तु खलु संभवि कार्यं अनेकोऽपि तद्युगपत्करोति । तद्यथा घटस्य दर्शनं स्पर्शनं वा । संभवि चेदं कार्यमकारस्योच्चारणं नाम; अनेकोऽपि तद्युगपत् करिष्यति

The objection that was raised that the applications are as in the case of *dravyas* is met thus:—it is true in the case of that

* It deserves to be noted that there is no *vārttika* answering the objection raised by द्रव्यवच्चोपचाराः. Perhaps the same *vārttika* was read here also and was interpreted by Mahābhāṣyakāra in a different way, but was omitted by the scribe.

which is not possible for many to handle simultaneously, but in cases where many can handle the same thing at the same time it is not true. For instance the seeing of a pot or the touching of it. The pronouncing of *akāra* is thus possible; many pronounce it at the same time.

From the above it is clear that all the objections raised against the statement **एकत्वादकारस्य सिद्धम्** have been satisfactorily answered. Henceforth another set of objections is thrown against the same statement.

आन्यभाव्यं तु कालशब्दव्यवायात्

आन्यभाव्यं त्वकारस्य, कुतः? कालशब्दव्यवायात्—कालव्यवायात् शब्दव्यवायाच्च ; कालव्यवायात् दण्ड - अग्रम् ; शब्दव्यवायात् - दण्डः । न चैकस्यात्मनो व्यवायेन भवितव्यम् ; भवति चेद्भवत्यान्यभाव्यमकारस्य

No, there is the state of being different on account of the intervention of time and sound. There is the state of being different in *akāra*. Why? On account of the intervention of time and sound — on account of the intervention of time and on account of the intervention of sound—*viz.* **दण्ड–अग्रम्, दण्डः** There is no intervention for the same sound. If there is intervention, they are different.

युगपच्च देशपृथक्त्वदर्शनात्

युगपच्च देशपृथक्त्वदर्शनान्मन्यामहे आन्यभाव्यमकारस्य इति, यदयं युगपद्देशपृथक्त्वेषूपलभ्यते अश्वः अर्कः अर्थ इति । न ह्येको देवदत्तो युगपत्स्रुघ्ने च भवति मथुरायां च ॥

On account of its being found simultaneously in different places. Since the *akāra* is found in different places at the same time,

we think they are different. It is found in different places at the same time in the words अश्वः, अर्कः, अर्थः. The same Dēvadatta cannot remain at the same time at Srughna and at Mathurā.

यदि पुनरिमे वर्णाः

शकुनिवत्स्युः *

तद्यथा शकुनय आशुगामित्वात्पुरस्तादुत्पतिताः पश्चाद्दृश्यन्ते, एवमयमकारो द इत्यत्र दृष्टो ण्ड इत्यत्र दृश्यते

If these sounds are like birds. Just as the birds that seat themselves first in a row quickly fly from their places and seat themselves last, so also the *akāra* is first found after 'द्' and then after 'ण्ड्'

नैवं शक्यम्, अनित्यत्वमेवं स्यात् । नित्याश्च शब्दाः, नित्येषु च शब्देषु कूटस्थैरविचालिभिर्वर्णैर्भवितव्यमनपायोपजनविकारिभिः । यदि चायं द इत्यत्र दृष्टो ण्ड इत्यत्र दृश्येत नायं कूटस्थः स्यात्

No, this is not possible, for in that case words will become *anitya*. They are, on the other hand, *nitya* and so words should have sounds which do not move, change and which are neither replaced nor augmented. If the '*a*' which is seen after '*d*' is afterwards seen after '*ṇḍ*', it cannot be considered *kūṭastha*.

यदि पुनरिमे वर्णाः

* This is in answer to the objection कालशब्दव्यवायात्

आदित्यवत्स्युः *

तद्यथा एक आदित्योऽनेकाधिकरणस्थो युगपद्देशपृथक्त्वेषूपलभ्यते

If these sounds are taken to be like the sun. The one sun in different places is seen simultaneously.

विषम उपन्यासः, नैको द्रष्टा आदित्यमनेकाधिकरणस्थं युगपद्देशपृथक्त्वेषूपलभते, अकारं पुनरुपलभते ॥

The reasoning is not sound. The same observer does not see the sun in different places at the same time; but he sees so *akāra*, on the other hand.

अकारमपि नोपलभते

He does not see *akāra* also.

किं कारणम्? Why?

श्रोत्रोपलब्धिर्बुद्धिनिर्ग्राह्यः प्रयोगेणाभिज्वलित आकाशदेशः शब्दः, एकं च पुनराकाशम्

Śabda which is heard by the ear, understood by the mind and exhibited by the sound has for its place only *ākāśa* and *ākāśa* is one.

आकाशदेशा अपि बहवः, यावता बहवः तस्मादान्यभाव्यमकारस्य

The *ākāśadēśas* also are many. Since they are many, the many-ness of *akāra* should be conceded.

* This is in answer to the objection युगपच्च कालपृथक्त्वदर्शनात् *Cf.* आदित्यवद्यौगपद्यम् (*Jāiminiya sūtra* 1—1—15); अस्ति चैकमनेकाधिकरणस्थं युगपत्—आदित्यः (*Vārttikas* under सरूपाणामेकशेष एकविभक्तौ 1—2—64)

आकृतिग्रहणात्सिद्धम् *

अवर्णाकृतिरुपदिष्टा सर्वमवर्णकुलं ग्रहीष्यति, तथेवर्णाकृतिः, तथोवर्णाकृतिः

The object is achieved by taking it to refer to genus. The genus *a* when pronounced comprehends the whole family of the individuality *a*. So is the genus of *i* and so is the genus of *u*.

तद्वच्च तपरकरणम्

एवं च कृत्वा तपराः क्रियन्ते आकृतिग्रहणेनातिप्रसक्तमिति

The association of the *anubandha* त् has it (**आकृतिपक्ष**) in view.

ननु च सवर्णग्रहणेनातिप्रसक्तमिति कृत्वा तपराः क्रियेरन्

Are they not associated with त् to avoid the comprehension of like sounds?

प्रत्याख्यायते तत् सवर्णेऽण्ग्रहणमपरिभाष्यमाकृतिग्रहणादनन्यत्वाच्च

It is refuted thus **सवर्णेऽण्ग्रहणमपरिभाष्यमाकृतिग्रहणादनन्यत्वाच्च** (in the sūtra (**अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः**)

हल्ग्रहणेषु च

In the sūtras dealing with consonants.

किम्? What?

आकृतिग्रहणात्सिद्धमित्येव । झलो झलि अवात्ताम्, अवात्तम्, अवात्त, यत्रैतन्नास्ति अण्सवर्णान् गृह्णाति इति ॥

The object is achieved by taking them refer to genus. The words **अवात्ताम् अवात्तम् अवात्त** will be formed from **अवास्–स्–ताम्**,

* *Cf.* आकृत्यभिधानाद्वैकं विभक्तौ वाजप्यायनः (*Vārttika* under सरूपाणामेकशेष एकविभक्तौ 1—2—64.)

अवास्-स्-तम्, अवास्-स्-त by the application of झलो झलि where there is no room for the principle अण् सवर्णान् गृह्णाति to operate.

रूपसामान्याद्वा

रूपसामान्याद्वा सिद्धमेतत् । तद्यथा 'तानेव शाटकानाच्छादयामः ये मथुरायाम्' 'तानेव शालीन् भुञ्ज्महे ये मगधेषु', 'तदेवेदं भवतः कार्षापणं यन्मथुरायां गृहीतम्', अन्यस्मिश्चान्यस्मिन् रूपसामान्यात्तदेवेदमिति भवति । एवमिहापि रूपसामान्यात् सिद्धम् ॥

Or by the similarity of shape.

This is achieved even by the similarity of shape. For instance even though objects are different, they are taken to be one from similarity of shape and hence we see the following usage :– We dress ourselves with the same dress as at Mathura ; we eat the same rice as at Magadha ; this is the same coin as was received at Mathura. So also our object is achieved here by taking the *akāras* to be one from similarity of shape.

The topics II and III are based on व्यक्तिपक्ष. The objections raised in the third topic were finally answered by first taking recourse to जातिपक्ष in the statement आकृतिग्रहणात्सिद्धम् and then to व्यक्तिपक्ष in the satement रूपसामान्याद्वा.

Nāgojibhaṭṭa says 'अकारव्यक्तीनामानन्त्यमाश्रित्य वार्तिककृता वर्णसमाम्नायस्थस्य विवृतत्वेऽपि धात्वादिस्थस्यापि विवृतोपदेशो नोदितः ; भाष्यकृता तु प्रयोगस्थानां प्रत्याहारस्थैः ग्रहणाय तत्र जातिनिर्देशे आवश्यके जातेर्विवृतत्वप्रतिज्ञानेनैव सर्वसिद्धेः स दोषो वारितः । But on looking at the vārttika "सवर्णेऽण् ग्रहणमपरिभाष्यमाकृतिग्रहणात्" under the sūtra 'अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः' it seems that Vārttikakāra himself has given expression to जातिपक्ष. Perhaps the statement रूपसामान्याद्वा may be Mahābhāṣyakāra's own, since, wherever he deals with the interpretation of the word आकृति, he takes it in both the senses of *jāti* and shape.

ऋलृक्

अथ * लृकारोपदेशः किमर्थः ?

What for is the mention of लृ (in ऋलृक्)?

किं विशेषेण लृकारोपदेशश्चोद्यते न पुनरन्येषामपि वर्णानामुपदेशश्चोद्यते ? यदि किंचिदन्येषामपि वर्णानामुपदेशे प्रयोजनमस्ति लृकारोपदेशस्यापि तद्भवितुमर्हति । को वा विशेषः ?

Why is the mention of the letter लृ alone specially discussed and not that of other letters? If there is any use in the mention of other letters, the same may be for that of लृ. What is the speciality?

अयमस्ति विशेषः । अस्य हि लृकारस्य अल्पीयांश्चैव प्रयोगविषयः । यश्चापि प्रयोगविषयः सोऽपि क्लृपिस्थस्यैव ; कृपेश्च लत्वमसिद्धं, तस्य असिद्धत्वात् ऋकारस्यैव अच्कार्याणि भविष्यन्ति । नार्थं लृकारोपदेशेन

There is this speciality. There is but a little use of this in words. The only place where it is found is in the formations having the element क्लृप्. The *latva* in कृप् is non-existent† and hence the *ackārya* will happen to ऋ. Hence there is no use in the mention of लृ.

अत उत्तरं पठति—

Thus does he read the answer.

लृकारोपदेशो यदृच्छाशक्तिजानुकरणप्लुत्याद्यर्थः

Mention of लृ is for the sake of यदृच्छाशब्द, अशक्तिजानुकरणशब्द and प्लुत्यादि.

* लृकारस्य उपदेशः is another reading.

† कृपो रो लः 8—2—18

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लकारोपदेशः क्रियते यदृच्छाशब्दार्थः अशक्तिजानुकरणार्थः प्लुत्याद्यर्थश्च । यदृच्छाशब्दार्थस्तावत् — यदृच्छया कश्चित् लृतको नाम, तस्मिन्नच्कार्याणि यथा स्युः दध्ल्लृतकाय देहि, मध्ल्लृतकाय देहि, उदङ्ङ्लृतकोऽगमत् , प्रत्यङ्ङ्लृतकोऽगमत् । चतुष्टयी शब्दानां प्रवृत्तिः, जातिशब्दाः गुणशब्दाः क्रियाशब्दाः यदृच्छाशब्दाश्चतुर्थाः

Mention is made of ऌ for the sake of यदृच्छाशब्द, अशक्तिजानुकरण-शब्द and प्लुत्यादि. First for the sake of यदृच्छाशब्द *(i.e.)* word coined at random to name a person or object without its being formed from any root. One is named लृतक. When that word is used, the vowel-laws have to operate, *viz.* दध्य्लृतकाय (दधि+लृतकाय) देहि, मध्ल्लृतकाय (मधु+लृतकाय) देहि, उदङ्ङ्लृतकः (उदङ्+लृतकः) अगमत् , प्रत्यङ्ङ्लृतकः (प्रत्यङ्+लृतकः) अगमत्. The flow of words is fourfold—जातिशब्दाः (words denoting genus), गुणशब्दाः (words denoting quality), क्रियाशब्दाः (words denoting action) and यदृच्छाशब्दाः

अशक्तिजानुकरणार्थः—अशक्त्या कयाचित् ब्राह्मण्या ऋतक इति प्रयोक्तव्ये लृतक इति प्रयुक्तं, तस्यानुकरणं ब्राह्मण्ल्लृतक इत्याह कुमार्य्लृतक इत्याह इति

For the sake of imitating the word mispronounced on account of incapacity. On account of incapacity ऋतक was mispronounced as लृतक by a brahman women and it was quoted thus ब्राह्मण्य्लृतक इत्याह, कुमार्य्लृतक इत्याह.

प्लुत्याद्यर्थश्च—के पुनः प्लुत्यादयः? प्लुतिद्विर्वचनस्वरिताः—क्लृ३प्तशिख, क्लृप्तः, प्रक्लृप्तः ; प्लुत्यादिषु कार्येषु कृपेर्लत्वं सिद्धं, तस्य सिद्धत्वादच्कार्याणि न सिध्यन्ति । तस्मात् लकारोपदेशः क्रियते

For the sake of प्लुत्यादि. What are प्लुत्यादि? प्लुतिः, द्विर्वचनम् and स्वरितः *viz.* क्लृ३प्तशिख, क्लृप्तः, प्रक्लृप्तः. In the operations प्लुति etc. the ऌ in कृप् is *siddha* and hence the vowel-rules will not operate. Hence the letter ऌ should be read in the sūtra.

नैतानि सन्ति प्रयोजनानि

These are not the benefits.

न्याय्यभावात्कल्पनं संज्ञादिषु

In the case of designations mention of correct ones.

न्याय्यस्य ऋतकशब्दस्य भावात् कल्पनं संज्ञादिषु साधु मन्यन्ते, ऋतक एवासौ न ऌतक इति। अपर आह—न्याय्य ऋतकशब्दः शास्त्रान्वितोऽस्ति स कल्पयितव्यः साधुः संज्ञादिषु, ऋतक एवासौ न ऌतकः।

Since there is the correct form in ऋतक, it is considered that only the correct forms should be used thus—he is ऋतक and not ऌतक. Another thinks that, on hearing the word ऌतक, the hearer should consider that it is the corrupt form of the grammatically correct word ऋतक.*

अयं तर्हि यदृच्छाशब्दोऽपरिहार्यः—ऌफिडः, ऌफिड्डश्चेति।

This यदृच्छाशब्द्-ऌफिडः or ऌफिड्डः cannot be avoided.

एषोऽपि ऋफिडः ऋफिड्डश्च।

This too is ऋफिड or ऋफिड्ड

कथम्? How?

अर्तिप्रवृत्तिश्चैव हि लोके लक्ष्यते। फिडफिड्डावौणादिकौ प्रत्ययौ। त्रयी शब्दानां प्रवृत्तिः—जातिशब्दाः गुणशब्दाः क्रियाशब्दा इति। न सन्ति यदृच्छाशब्दाः

In the word the root ऋत् is used. फिड and फिड्ड are formatives that come under the *uṇādi*. The flow of words is only

* The word ऋतक is derived from the root ऋत्

threefold—जातिशब्दाः, गुणशब्दाः and क्रियाशब्दाः. There are no *yadṛcchāśabdas*.

अन्यथा कृत्वा प्रयोजनमुक्तम् अन्यथा कृत्वा परिहारः, सन्ति यदृच्छाशब्दा इति कृत्वा प्रयोजनमुक्तं न सन्तीति परिहारः । समाने चार्थे शास्त्रान्वितोऽशास्त्रान्वितस्य निर्वर्तको भवति, तद्यथा देवदत्तशब्दो देवदिण्णशब्दं निवर्तयति न गाव्यादीन्

The benefits were enumerated on the basis of one view and refutation is made on the basis of another view (*i.e.*) the benefits were enumerated on the strength of the view that there are *yadṛcchāśabdas* and the refutation is on the strength of the view that there are no *yadṛcchāśabdas*. A grammatically correct word can make one avoid another considered to be incorrect only if both have the same प्रवृत्तिनिमित्त* ; for instance the word *Dēvadatta* can be the correct form of *Dēvadiṇṇa* and not *gāvyādi*.

नैष दोषः, पक्षान्तरैरपि परिहारा भवन्ति

This is no harm, for refutations are made even on the basis of different views.

Having refuted the first point that the mention of ऌ is for the sake of *yadṛcchāśabdas* he takes the second point for review.

अनुकरणं शिष्टाशिष्टाप्रतिषिद्धेषु यथा लौकिकवैदिकेषु

Imitation in the case of those that are enjoined or in the case of those neither enjoined nor prohibited—as in instances found in the world and the Vēdas.

* In the previous argument ऌतक, ऌफिड् etc. were considered to be यदृच्छाशब्दाs in the पूर्वपक्ष and to be गुणशब्दाs or क्रियाशब्दाs in the सिद्धान्त.

अनुकरणं हि शिष्टस्य वा (तत्) साधु भवति, अशिष्टाप्रतिषिद्धस्य वा, नैव तद्दोषाय भवति नाभ्युदयाय, यथा लौकिकवैदिकेषु—यथा लौकिकेषु वैदिकेषु च कृतान्तेषु। लोके तावत्—य एवमसौ ददाति य एवमसौ यजते य एवमसावधीत इति तस्यानुकुर्वन् दद्याच्च यजेत चाधीयीत च सोऽप्यभ्युदयेन युज्यते, वेदेऽपि य एवं विश्वसृजः सत्राण्यध्यासत इति तेषामनुकुर्वन् तद्वत्सत्राण्यध्यासीत सोऽप्यभ्युदयेन युज्यते। अशिष्टाप्रतिषिद्धं यथा—य एवमसौ हिक्कति य एवमसौ हसति य एवमसौ कण्डूयति इति तस्यानुकुर्वन् हिक्केच्च हसेच्च कण्डूयेच्च, नैव तद्दोषाय स्यान्नाभ्युदयाय। यस्तु खलु एवमसौ ब्राह्मणं हन्ति एवमसौ सुरां पिबति इति तस्यानुकुर्वन् ब्राह्मणं हन्यात् सुरां वा पिबेत्, सोऽपि मन्ये पतितः स्यात्

Imitation is either of the enjoined ones, which is good, or of that which is neither enjoined nor prohibited, which brings in neither demerit nor merit. As is found in those of the world and the Vēdas--as is found in the incidents of the world and the Vēdas. First in the world—he too who, seeing that another gives away in charity, performs sacrifices and studies the Vēdas, imitates him and gives away in charity, performs sacrifices and studies the Vēdas gets merit. In the Vēdas also–he who seeing *Viśvasṛṭs* performing *sattras* imitates them and performs *sattras*, he too gets merit. That which is neither enjoined nor prohibited is illustrated thus—he who seeing another hiccoughing, laughing or scratching in a peculiar fashion imitates him and hiccoughs, laughs or scratches in the same way gets neither merit nor demerit. Similarly he who seeing another killing a brahmin in a particular way and drinking wine in a peculiar fashion imitates him, kills a brahmin and drinks wine is, in my opinion, an apostate.

विषम उपन्यासः। यश्चैवं हन्ति यश्चानुहन्ति उभौ तौ हतः, यश्चापि पिबति यश्चानुपिबति उभौ तौ पिबतः। यस्तु खलु एवमसौ ब्राह्मणं हन्ति एवमसौ सुरां वा

पिबतीति तस्यानुकुर्वन् स्नातानुलिप्तः माल्यगुणकण्ठः कदलीस्तम्भं छिन्द्यात्* पयो वा पिबेत् न स मन्ये पतितः स्यात् ।

The argument is not sound. He who kills thus and he who kills in imitation both kill; he who drinks (wine) and he who drinks (wine) in imitation, both drink (wine). But, on the other hand, he who seeing another killing a brahmin cuts a plantain tree in the same way after taking a bath besmearing himself with sandal and wearing a garland in his neck or he who seeing another drinking wine drinks milk in the same way is not, in my opinion, an apostate.

एवमिहापि य एवमसौ अपशब्दं प्रयुङ्क्ते इति तस्यानुकुर्वन्नपशब्दं प्रयुञ्जीत सोऽप्यपशब्दभाक् स्यात् । अयं तु अन्योऽपशब्दपदार्थकः शब्दो यदर्थं उपदेशः कर्तव्यः । न चापशब्दपदार्थकः शब्दोऽपशब्दो भवति । अवश्यं चैतदेवं विज्ञेयम्, यो हि मन्यते अपशब्दपदार्थकः शब्दोऽपशब्दो भवतीति, अपशब्द इत्येव तस्यापशब्दः स्यात्, न चैषोऽपशब्दः

So also here he who seeing another using ungrammatical words uses the same gets demerit. This word is another which connotes the ungrammatical word, for which *upadēśa* is necessary.

* This refers to *kadalī-vivāha* *Cf.*

अर्कोद्वाहो जडादीनामुच्यते तु यवीयसः ।
विवाहार्थं मुनिश्रेष्ठैस्तमुत्पाद्य दक्षेणदा ॥
व्याहृतीभिस्तदा दत्त्वा यथाशक्ति हिरण्यकम् ।
स्नात्वा सद्यश्शुचिर्भूयादुद्वाहे च तृतीयके ॥
तृतीया स्त्री म्रियेच्छीघ्रं तस्मादेवं चरेद् बुधः ।
रम्भोद्वाहं तथा कुर्याच्छित्वा तत्रैव मानवः ॥
त्रिरात्रं सूतकं भूयादिति बोधायनोऽब्रवीत् ॥

(*Bōdhāyana's Gṛhyasūtra*—5th *praśna*—5th Chapter.)

and

Sāmavēda Gṛhya-pariśiṣṭa, prapāṭhaka 1—24.

The word which connotes an incorrect word is not incorrect. This should be clearly understood that he who thinks that the word which connotes an incorrect word is incorrect should have to say that the word अपशब्द is ungrammatical, which is not the case.

Mahābhāṣyakāra, taking recourse to the *nyāya* तुष्यतु दुर्जनः proceeds thus:—*

अयं खल्वपि भूयोऽनुकरणशब्दोऽपरिहार्यः यदर्थ उपदेशः कर्तव्यः—साध्वॢकारमधीते मध्वॢकारमधीते इति

Again this अनुकरणशब्द cannot be avoided for which ॡ should be read in the sūtra—साध्वॢकारमधीते, मध्वॢकारमधीते.

कस्थस्य पुनरेतदनुकरणम्?

Where is this ॡ which is imitated found?

क्लृपिस्थस्य

In the word क्लृप्.

यदि क्लृपिस्थस्य, क्लृपेश्च लत्वमसिद्धम्, तस्य असिद्धत्वात् ऋकार एवाच्कार्याणि भविष्यन्ति

If it is of क्लृप्, the *ḷ* of क्लृप् is *asiddha* and hence the vowel-laws operate to ऋ.

* Granting that the imitation of an incorrect word is also incorrect, he says that when one has to say that one studies ऌ well and that one studies ऌ in a fine manner, the sūtra इको यणचि has to operate and hence ऌ should find a place in the sūtra ऋऌक्.

भवेत्तदर्थेन नार्थः स्यात् । अयं त्वन्यः क्लृपिस्थपदार्थकः शब्दः यदर्थं उपदेशः कर्तव्यः

It may be that it may not be useful on that behalf; but this word is one which connotes the letter in the word क्लृप्, for which there is need for the *upadēśa*.

न कर्तव्यः । इदमवश्यं कर्तव्यम्* 'प्रकृतिवदनुकरणम् भवति' इति

This need not be done. This should be accepted that the imitator is like the imitated.

किं प्रयोजनम्? Why?

द्विः पचन्त्वित्याह, तिङ्ङतिङ इति निघातो यथा स्यात्, अग्नी इत्याह ईदूदेद्द्विवचनं प्रगृह्यम्† इति प्रगृह्यसंज्ञा यथा स्यात्

In the expression द्विः पचन्तु इत्याह the verb पचन्तु should have all its syllables unaccented by the operation of the rule तिङ्ङतिङः. In the expression अग्नी इत्याह, अग्नी should get the प्रगृह्यसंज्ञा by the operation of the rule ईदूदेद्द्विवचनं प्रगृह्यम्.

यदि प्रकृतिवदनुकरणं भवतीत्युच्यते अपशब्द एवासौ भवति कुमार्य्लतक इत्याह ब्राह्मण्य्लतक इत्याह, अपशब्दो ह्यस्य प्रकृतिः । न चापशब्दः प्रकृतिः, न ह्यपशब्दा उपदिश्यन्ते, न चानुपदिष्टा प्रकृतिरस्ति ।

If the principle प्रकृतिवदनुकरणम् is conceded, the word ऌतक in the expressions कुमार्य्लतक इत्याह, ब्राह्मण्य्लतक इत्याह will become an *apaśabda*, since its प्रकृति is *apaśabda*. *Apaśabda* cannot be taken as *prakṛti*; for *apaśabdas* are not read, and that which is not read is not *prakṛti*.

* वक्तव्यम् is another reading.

† ईदूदेद्द्विवचनं प्रगृह्यसंज्ञं भवति is another reading.

From the above it is clear that, according to *Vārttikakāra*, imitator also is *apaśabda* and hence ऌ need not be read in the *sūtra* on that score. According to *Mahābhāṣyakāra*, imitator of an *apaśabda* is not an *apaśabda* and the principle **प्रकृतिवदनुकरणं भवति** cannot operate here and hence ऌ should be read in the *sūtra*.

Having refuted the first two, he takes the third point for review.

एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यत्वात्प्लुत्यादयः

Pluti and others on account of the principle **एकदेशविकृतमनन्यवत्**

एकदेशविकृतमनन्यवद्भवतीति प्लुत्यादयोऽपि भविष्यन्ति

An object which is maimed a little is nothing but the same and hence *pluti* and others will appear.

यद्येकदेशविकृतमनन्यवद्भवतीत्युच्यते **राज्ञः क च** राजकीयम्, **अल्लोपोऽन** इति लोपः प्राप्नोति ।

If the principle **एकदेशविकृतमनन्यवद्भवति** is conceded, the अ after ज् in **राजकीयम्** which is the result of **राज्ञः क च** will have to be dropped on account of the operation of the *sūtra* **अल्लोपोऽनः**

एकदेशविकृतमनन्यवत् षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टस्य *

The principle **एकदेशविकृतमनन्यवद्भवति** applies to that which is indicated by the genetive case. †

* एकदेशविकृतमनन्यवत् षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टस्य इति वक्ष्यामि is another reading.

† In the *sūtra* राज्ञः क च, only the word राजन् is indicated by the genetive case, while the elision of अ is enjoined only to अन् on the *sūtra* अल्लोपोऽनः

यदि षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टस्येत्युच्यते क्लृ३प्तशिख इति प्लुतो न प्राप्नोति, न ह्यत्र ऋकारः षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टः

If it is said that it holds good only to that which is indicated by the genetive case, *pluta* of *ḷ* in क्लृ३प्तशिख cannot be got, since here (in the *sūtra* कृपो रो लः) *ṛ* is not indicated by the genetive case.

कस्तर्हि ? What then ?

रेफः *r*.

ऋकारोऽप्यत्र षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टः ।

Ṛ also is here indicated by the genetive case.

कथम् ? How ?

अविभक्तिको निर्देशः, कृप उः रः लः कृपो रो लः इति ।

Mention of the stem with the case-suffix elided so that कृपो रो लः is split thus— कृप, उः, रः लः *

अथवा पुनरस्तु अविशेषेण

Or let the *nyāya* एकदेशविकृतमनन्यवद् भवति apply without any reservation.

ननु चोक्तं राज्ञः क च राजकीयम्, अल्लोपोऽनः इति लोपः प्राप्नोति इति

Has it not been said that the *sūtra* अल्लोपोऽनः will operate in the word राजकीयम् which is got by the operation of the *sūtra* राज्ञः क च ?

* The word कृपो is split as कृप and उः where कृप is the stem without the genetive case-suffix and उः is the genetive case of ऋ.

नैष दोषः, वक्ष्यत्येतत् **श्वादीनां प्रसारणे नकारान्तग्रहणमनकारान्तप्रतिषेधार्थम्** इति, (*Vārttika* under VI-4-133) तत्प्रकृतमुत्तरत्रानुवर्तिष्यते, **अल्लोपोऽनः** (VI.-4.-134) नकारान्तस्येति

It is no harm. He (*Vārttikakāra*) is going to say this—that the comprehension of **नकारान्त** in the *sūtra* **श्वयुवमघोनामतद्धिते** (VI-4-133) dealing with the **सम्प्रसारण** of **श्वन्** etc. is to prohibit those which are not **नकारान्त**. The same **नकारान्तस्य** is repeated in the following *sūtra* **अल्लोपोऽनः**

इह तर्हि क्लृ३प्तशिख, अनृत इति प्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोति

In the case of **क्लृ३प्तशिखः**, then, the prohibition by **अनृतः** (in the *sūtra* **गुरोरनृतोऽनन्त्यस्य** . . . VII-2-86) will operate.

रवत्प्रतिषेधाच्च

By the prohibition of those which have *r*.

रवत्प्रतिषेधाच्चैतत्सिध्यति गुरोररवतः इति वक्ष्यामि

Then the desired object is accomplished by prohibiting those which have *r* and hence I shall read **अरवतः** instead of **अनृतः** in that *sūtra*.

यद्यरवत इत्युच्यते होतृ ऋकारः होतृ३कारः अत्र न प्राप्नोति

If **अरवतः** is read, the *pluta* in **होतृ३कारः** which is the result of the combination **होतृ** and **ऋकारः** will not take place.

गुरोरवतो ह्रस्वस्य इति वक्ष्यामि

Then shall I read **गुरोररवतो ह्रस्वस्य.**

स एष सूत्रभेदेन ऌकारोपदेशः प्लुत्याद्यर्थः सन् प्रत्याख्यायते, सैषा महतो वंशस्तम्बात् लट्वानुकृष्यते ,

This ऌकारोपदेश which is for the sake of *pluti* is rejected by taking recourse to the remodelling of the *sūtra* गुरोरनृतः ... ; this is like taking hold of a small bird called ऌट्वा from bamboo-bush.

From the last sentence it is clear that the *Mahābhāṣyakāra* favours the view that the *upadēśa* of ऌकार is necessary and that the flow of words is fourfold. Some think that this is a sort of satirical utterence of *Māhābhāṣykāra* against *Vārttikakāra.* From the preface it may be learnt that it is not so, but it is only a fact stated in a humorous fashion.

एओङ्, ऐऔच्.

There are only three topics that are dealt with here :-(1) whether the purpose is served by reading the *sūtras* as एओङ्, and ऐऔच् or whether they have to be read as एत् ओत् ङ् and ऐत् औत् च् (2) whether the word दीर्घ is to be read in *sūtras* which enjoin एच् as *ēkādēśa* and (3) whether such sounds as form part of diphthongs, long vowels, *ṛ* and *ḷ*, and as are similar to others are to be taken as their limbs or not.

I

इदं विचार्यते इमानि सन्ध्यक्षराणि तपराणि वा उपदिश्येरन् एत् ओत् ङ्, ऐत् औत् च् इति, अतपराणि वा यथान्यासम् इति

This is discussed whether these diphthongs have to be read with त् following each as एत् ओत् ङ्, ऐत् औत् च् or without त् as they are now.

कश्चात्र विशेषः ?

What is here the difference ?

सन्ध्यक्षरेषु तपरोपदेशश्चेत् तपरोच्चारणम्

Need for reading त् at the end if the diphthongs have to be followed by त्.

सन्ध्यक्षरेषु तपरोपदेशश्चेत् तपरोच्चारणं कर्तव्यम्

If the diphthongs have to be followed by त्, त् has to be read at the end.

प्लुत्यादिष्वज्विधिः

Rules relating to अच् (will not apply) to *pluta* and others.

प्लुत्यादिषु अजाश्रयो विधिर्न सिध्यति, गो३त्रात नौ३त्रात इत्यत्र अनचि च इति अच उत्तरस्य यरो द्वे भवत इति द्विर्वचनं न प्राप्नोति, इह च प्रत्यङ्ङे३तिकायन उदङ्ङौ३पगव इति अचि इति ङमुडागमो न प्राप्नोति

In the case of *pluta* and others the rules relating to अच् will not operate. For instance the doubling of त् in गो३त्रात and नौ३त्रात by the application of the rule अनचि च cannot take place;* so also the doubling of ङ् in प्रत्यङ्ङे३तिकायन and उदङ्ङौ३पगव cannot take place since ङ् should be followed by an अच्.

प्लुतसंज्ञा च

Even the symbol प्लुत.

प्लुतसंज्ञा च न सिध्यति, ऐ३तिकायन, औ३पगव, ऊकालोऽज्ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतः इति प्लुतसंज्ञा न प्राप्नोति

Even the symbol *pluta* cannot operate. For instance in ऐ३तिकायन and औ३पगव, ऐ३ and औ३ cannot get the designation

* The reason is that ओ३ and औ३ are not comprehended by the *pratyāhāra* अच्.

pluta since *plutasamjña* is enjoined only to an अच् in the *sūtra* ऊकालोऽज्झ्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतः.

सन्तु तर्हि अतपराणि

If so, let them be not followed by त्.

अतपर एच इग्घ्रस्वादेशे

If they are not followed by त्, there is the need for the *sūtra* एच इग्घ्रस्वादेशे.

यद्यतपराणि एच इग्घ्रस्वादेशे इति वक्तव्यम्

If they are not तपर, the *sūtra* एच इग्घ्रस्वादेशे has to be read.

किं प्रयोजनम्? Why?

एचो ह्रस्वादेशशासनेष्वर्ध एकारोऽर्ध ओकारो वा मा भूत् इति

So that 'half *e*' and 'half *o*' may not be used when the rules relating to the shortening of long vowels operate.

ननु च यस्यापि तपराणि तेनाप्येतद्वक्तव्यम्; इमावैचौ समाहारवर्णौ मात्रावर्णस्य मात्रेवर्णोवर्णयोः। तयोर्ह्रस्वादेशशासनेषु कदाचिदवर्णः स्यात् कदाचिदिवर्णोवर्णौ, मा कदाचित् अवर्णं भूत् इति

Oh! this has to be read even when one reads the diphthongs with त् at the end. The two letters which come under the *pratyāhāra* ऐच् are diphthongs having one *mātrā* for *a* and another *mātrā* for *i* or *u*. Hence when rules relating to shortening operate, sometimes *a* may be substituted and sometimes *i* or *u*. They have to avoid the substitution of *a*.

प्रत्याख्यायत एतत् **ऐचोश्चोत्तरभूयस्त्वात्** इति

This will be set aside by the *vārttika* **ऐचोश्चोत्तरभूयस्त्वात्** *

यदि प्रत्याख्यानपक्षः, इदमपि प्रत्याख्यायते **सिद्धमेङः सस्थानत्वात्** इति

If the view that it may be rejected is held, this too is rejected by the *vārttika* **सिद्धमेङः सस्थानत्वात्** †

ननु चैङः सस्थानतरावर्ध एकारोऽर्ध ओकारश्च?

Is it not that 'half *e*' and 'half *o*' have their organ of articulation closer to that of *ē* and *ō* than *i* and *u*?

न तौ स्तः, यदि हि तौ स्यातां तावेवायमुपदिशेत्

They two do not exist. If they were to exist, he would have read them alone.

ननु च भोः छन्दोगानां सात्यमुग्रिराणायनीया अर्धमेकारमर्धमोकारं चाधीयते—सुजाते ए अश्वसूनृते, अध्वर्यो ओ अद्रिभिः सुतम्, शुक्रं ते ए अन्यत्, यजतं ते ए अन्यत् इति

Oh Sir, those who belong to **सात्यमुग्रिशाखा** and **राणायनीयशाखा** among *Sāmavēdins* read 'half *e*' and half *o viz.* **सुजाते ए अश्व सूनृते, अध्वर्यो ओ अद्रिभिः सुतम्, शुक्रं ते ए अन्यत्, यजतं ते ए अन्यत्**

* This *vārttika* means this:—when *āi* or *āu* is shortened, only *i* and *u* will be substituted since only those two elements predominate in them.

† This means thus:—The desired object is achieved since *ē* and *ō* have the same organ of articulation as *i* and *u* and hence if they are shortened, only *i* and *u* will take their place.

पार्षदकृतिरेषा तत्रभवताम् । नैव हि लोके नान्यस्मिन् वेदेऽर्ध एकारोऽर्ध ओकारो वास्ति

It is the work of a class of revered people. Neither in ordinary usage nor in any other vēda do we find 'half *e*' or 'half *o*'.

From this it is evident that there are three defects if the *sūtras* एओङ् and ऐऔच् are read with त् at their end and there is no defect if they are read as एओङ् and ऐऔच् in both the cases whether the *sūtra* एच इग्घ्रस्वादेशे is *pratyākhyāta* or not.*

* There are *two* points of view regarding the organ of articulation and *three* points of view regarding the composition of ऐ and औ.

Kātyāyana Prātiśākhya and Taittirīya Prātiśākhya take ए to be a *palatal* vowel like ई and ओ a labial vowel like उ.

Cf. इचशेयास्तालौ (का. प्रा. 1, 66) उवोपोपध्मा ओष्ठे *(ibid* 1, 70*)*:
तालौ जिह्वामध्यमिवर्णे (तै. प्रा. II 22);
एकारे च (*ibid.* II 23) ओष्ठोपसंहार उवर्णे (*ibid.* II 24.)
ओकारे च, ओष्ठौ तूपसंहततरौ (*ibid*, II. 13 & 14.)
Kātyāyana seems to favour this view.

Cf. the *vārttika* -एङः सस्थानत्वात्.

But *Pāṇinīya Śikṣā* takes ए and ओ as *gutturo-palatal* vowel and *gutturo-labial* vowel respectively.

Cf. ए ऐ तु, कण्ठतालव्या ओ औ कण्ठोष्ठजौ स्मृतौ.

As regards ऐ and औ some consider that the *a* element is one *mātrā* and *i* or *u* element is also one *mātrā*.

Cf. मात्रा अवर्णस्य मात्रा इवर्णोवर्णयोः The grammarian वाडव seems to take this view. [M. B. under प्लुतावैच इदुतौ (VIII—2—106.)] Some consider that the *a* element is half a *mātrā* and *i* or *u* element is 1½ *mātrās*. *Taittirīya-prātiśākhya*, and *Kātyāyana* favour this view.

Cf. अकारार्धम् ऐकारौकारयोरादिः (तै. प्रा. II. 26.)
इकारोऽध्यर्धः पूर्वस्य शेषः (*ibid* II. 28);
उकारस्तूत्तरस्य (*ibid* II. 29);
ऐचोश्चोत्तरभूयस्त्वात् [(*Vārttika* under एच इग्घ्रस्वादेशे (I. 1-48)].

II

एकादेशे दीर्घग्रहणम्

Mention of the word दीर्घः in एकादेश.

एकादेशे दीर्घग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्, आद्गुणो दीर्घः, वृद्धिरेचि दीर्घ इति

In the *sūtras* enjoining the substitution of one letter for two, the word दीर्घ should be mentioned as आद्गुणो दीर्घः, वृद्धिरेचि दीर्घः

किं प्रयोजनम्? Why?

आन्तर्यतस्त्रिमात्रचतुर्मात्राणां स्थानिनां त्रिमात्रचतुर्मात्रा आदेशा मा भूवन्निति, खट्वा+इन्द्रः=खट्वेन्द्रः, खट्वा+उदकम्=खट्वोदकम्, खट्वा+ईषा=खट्वेषा, खट्वा+ऊढा=खट्वोढा, खट्वा+एलका=खट्वैलका, खट्वा+ओदनः=खट्वौदनः, खट्वा+ऐतिकायनः=खट्वैतिकायनः, खट्वा+औपगवः=खट्वौपगवः इति

The sūtra ऐकारौकारयोः कण्ठ्या पूर्वा मात्रा तालव्योष्ठ्ययोरुत्तरा (का. प्रा. 1, 73) seems to mean that अ in ऐ and औ is one *mātrā* and इ or उ is one *mātrā*. But the commentator has commented upon it in different ways. Some consider that the *a* element is 1½ *mātrās* and *i* or *u* element is half a *mātrā*.

Cf. अध्यर्धमात्रा अवर्णस्य अर्धमात्रा इवर्णोवर्णयोः [M. B. under प्लुतावैच इदुतौ (VIII. 2—106.)]

Philologists favour this view since ऐ and औ are represented by the symbols *āi* and *āu*. That this should have been the original pronunciation is seen by the fact that they change to *āy* and *āv* in *sandhi*. The modern pronunciation with *a* having *one mātrā* and *i* or *u* also having *one mātrā* may have been due to the influence of Drāvidian Languages.

Cf. Akara ikara m-aikāra m-ākum. (*Tolkāppiyam* I. 54.)

Akara ukara m-aukāra m-ākum (ibid. I. 55.)

Dr. A. A. MacDonell says that ऐ and औ were pronounced as *ai* and *au* even at the time of *Prātiśākhyās* (M. V. G. 15-4.) But the *Prātiśākhyās* which have been published till now do not seem to express this definitely.

According to the second view favoured by *Kātyāyana* the sūtra एच इग्घ्रस्वादेशे is unnecessary.

Ādēśas of three and four *mātrās* may not, by the principle of similarity, replace *sthānin* with three or four *mātrās* in the following:—**खट्वा+इन्द्रः . . . खट्वौपगवः**

तत्तर्हि दीर्घग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्

Then the word **दीर्घ** should be read.

न कर्तव्यम् । उपरिष्टाद् योगविभाग करिष्यते–अकः सवर्णे, एको भवति, ततो दीर्घः, दीर्घश्च स भवति यः स एकः पूर्वपरयोरित्येवं निर्दिष्ट इति

It need not be read; for the *sūtra* **अकः सवर्णे दीर्घः** which comes later on is split into two *sūtras* **अकः सवर्णे** and **दीर्घः**. The former means that when *ak* is followed by a *like* letter, it is replaced by one letter; and the latter means that the letter which has replaced two letters is the long letter.

इहापि तर्हि प्राप्नोति, पशुम् विद्धम् पचन्ति इति

If so, the same will happen in the words **पशुम्, विद्धम्** and **पचन्ति**.

नैष दोषः; इह तावत्पशुमिति—**अम्येकः** इतीयता सिद्धम्, सोऽयमेवं सिद्धे सति यत्पूर्वग्रहणं करोति तस्यैतत्प्रयोजनं यथाजातीयकः पूर्वस्तथाजातीयक उभयोर्यथा स्यात् इति; विद्धमिति—पूर्व इत्येवानुवर्तते; अथवा आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति नानेन संप्रसारणस्य दीर्घो भवतीति, यदयं हल उत्तरस्य संप्रसारणस्य दीर्घत्वं शास्ति; पचन्ति इति— **अतो गुणे पर** इतीयता सिद्धम्, सोऽयमेवं सिद्धे सति यद्रूपग्रहणं करोति तस्यैतत्प्रयोजनं यथाजातीयकं परस्य रूपं तथाजातीयकमुभयोर्यथा स्यात् इति

No, here is no harm. First we shall take **पशुम्**–the result will be achieved by reading the *sūtra* **अमि पूर्वः** (6—1—107) as **अमि एकः**. That being so, the *Sūtrakāra* has read the word **पूर्वः**, which suggests that the *ādēśa* of both the letters will be of the same type as the former of the two. We shall then take **विद्धम्**—The word **पूर्व** is taken here [in the *sūtra* **संप्रसारणाच्च**

(6—1—108)]. Or the mention of the *sūtra* हलः (6—4—2) by the *Sūtrakāra* enjoining the lengthening of the *samprasāraṇa* after a consonant suggests that the lengthening does not operate upon the *samprasāraṇa* resulting from this *sūtra*. Then shall we take **पचन्ति**. The object is achieved by taking in the *sūtra* **अतो गुणे** (6—1—97) the word **पर** alone. When such is the case, the word **पररूपम्** is taken here [from the *sūtra* **एङि पररूपम्** (6–1–94)] which suggests that the *ādēśa* of both the letters will be of the same type as the latter of the two.

इह तर्हि खट्वर्श्यो मालर्श्य इति दीर्घवचनादकारो न, अनान्तर्यादेकारौ-कारौ न

Here then in **खट्वर्श्यः** (खट्वा+ऋश्यः), **मालर्श्यः** (माला+ऋश्यः), *a* cannot be the *ādēśa* since it has been said that a long letter should come there and *ē* and *ō* cannot be the *ādēśa* since they are not similar.

तत्र को दोषः ?

What will be the harm there ?

विगृहीतस्य श्रवणं प्रसज्येत

There will be the possibility for the absence of *sandhi*.

न ब्रूमो वयं यत्र क्रियमाणे दोषः तत्र कर्तव्यम् इति

We do not say that we shall take recourse to it where we meet with difficulty.

किं तर्हि ? What then ?

यत्र क्रियमाणे न दोषः तत्र कर्तव्यम् इति

We should take recourse to it where we meet with no difficulty by it.

क्व च क्रियमाणे न दोषः?

Where do we not meet with difficulty by taking recourse to it?

संज्ञाविधौ, वृद्धिरादैच् दीर्घः, अदेङ् गुणो दीर्घः इति

In *saṁjñāvidhi* like **वृद्धिरादैच् दीर्घः, अदेङ् गुणो दीर्घः**

तर्हि दीर्घग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्

Then the word **दीर्घ** should be read.

न कर्तव्यम्

No, it need not.

कस्मादेव आन्तर्यतः त्रिमात्रचतुर्मात्राणां स्थानिनां त्रिमात्रचतुर्मात्रा आदेशा न भवन्ति?

How will not the *ādēśas* of three or four *mātrās* replace the *sthānin* with three or four *mātrās* by adopting the principle of similarity?

तपरे गुणवृद्धी

The *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* letters are associated with **त्**

ननु च तः परः यस्मात्सोऽयं तपरः?

Is not **तपर** a *bahuvrīhi* compound?

नेत्याह, तादपि परस्तपर इति

No, says he. It is also a *tatpuruṣa* compound.

यदि तादपि परस्तपरः, ॠदोरप् इतीहैव स्यात् यवः, स्तवः ; लवः, पवः इत्यत्र न स्यात्

If it is taken as a *tatpuruṣa* compound, the *sūtra* ऋदोरप् will operate only with respect to यवः and स्तवः and not with respect to लवः and पवः

नैष तकारः

This is not *takāra*.

कस्तर्हि ?

What then ?

दकारः *Dakāra*.

किं दकारे प्रयोजनम् ?

What is the use of reading दकार ?

अथ किं तकारे ? यवसन्देहार्थस्तकारः दकारोऽपि, अथ मुखसुखार्थस्तकारः दकारोऽपि इति

What is the use of reading *takāra*? If it is to avoid doubt, *dakāra* also serves the same purpose; if it is for euphony, *dakāra* also is for the same.

III

इदं विचार्यते—य एतेषु वर्णेषु वर्णैकदेशा वर्णान्तरसमानाकृतय एतेषामवयवग्रहणेन ग्रहणं स्याद्वा न वा—इति

This is discussed whether in these letters (आ, ई, ऊ, ऋ, ऌ, ए, ऐ, ओ and औ) their parts which resemble other letters operate like the latter (in *sandhi* etc.) or not.

कुतः पुनरियं विचारणा ?

Wherefrom does this discussion arise ?

इह हि समुदाया अप्युपदिश्यन्ते अवयवा अपि। अभ्यन्तरश्च समुदायेऽवयवः, तद्यथा–वृक्षः प्रचलन् सहावयवैः प्रचलति; तत्र समुदायस्थावयवस्य अवयवग्रहणेन ग्रहणं स्याद्वा न वेति जायते विचारणा।

Here (in the *Māhēśvara sūtras*) are read both wholes (like ऐ, औ, ऋ, etc.) and parts (like अ, इ, र, etc). Part is evidently within the whole. *viz.* A tree, when it moves, moves with its parts. Now the need for the discussion whether the parts of the whole operate or not like those which they resemble, arises.

कश्चात्र विशेषः?

What is the difference here?

वर्णैकदेशा वर्णग्रहणेन चेत् सन्ध्यक्षरे समानाक्षराश्रयो विधिः प्राप्नोति, स प्रतिषेध्यः–अग्ने+इन्द्र, वायो+उदकम् अकः सवर्णे दीर्घ इति दीर्घत्वं प्राप्नोति

If the parts of letters operate like those which they resemble, the rules relating to *a, ā, i, ī, u, ū*, will operate with diphthongs. For example in the *sandhi* of अग्ने+इन्द्र and वायो+उदकम्, the *sūtra* अकः सवर्णे दीर्घः will operate.

दीर्घे ह्रस्वविधिप्रतिषेधः

Prohibition of rules relating to short letters with long ones.

दीर्घे ह्रस्वाश्रयो विधिः प्राप्नोति, स प्रतिषेध्यः—आलूय, प्रलूय, ह्रस्वस्य पिति कृति तुक् भवतीति तुक् प्राप्नोति

Rules relating to short letters will have chance to operate with reference to the corresponding long ones and it is to be prohibited. For example in the words आलूय and प्रलूय the *sūtra* ह्रस्वस्य पिति कृति तुक् will chance to operate and तुक् will appear there.

नैष दोषः, आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति न दीर्घे ह्रस्वाश्रयो विधिर्भवतीति, यदयं दीर्घाच्छे तुकं शास्ति

It is no harm, for the *ācārya's* procedure suggests that the long letters are not to be affected by the rules relating to short ones since he reads the *sūtra* दीर्घात् which enjoins तुक् after a long letter.

नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकम्, अस्ति ह्यन्यदेतस्य वचने प्रयोजनम्

This is not a *jñāpaka*, for there is another use of this *sūtra*.

किम्? What?

पदान्ताद्वा इति विभाषां वक्ष्यामि इति

To introduce the reader to his *sūtra* पदान्ताद्वा where he enjoins the optional use of तुक्.

यत्तर्हि योगविभागं करोति, इतरथा हि दीर्घात्पदान्ताद्वा इत्येव ब्रूयात्

Since he has read them as two *sūtras*, (we have to take the former to be a *jñāpaka*); for, otherwise he would have read दीर्घात्पदान्ताद्वा as one *sūtra*.

इह तर्हि खट्वाभिः, मालाभिः, अतो भिस ऐस् इत्यैस्भावः प्राप्नोति

If so, in the words खट्वाभिः and मालाभिः, the case-suffix *āis* will come on the operation of the *sūtra* अतो भिस ऐस्.

तपरकरणसामर्थ्यान्न भविष्यति

It does not come on account of तपरकरण.

तर्हि याता वाता, अतो लोप आर्धधातुके इत्यकारलोपः प्राप्नोति

If so, in the words याता and वाता, the elision of अकार will take place on the operation of the *sūtra* अतो लोप आर्धधातुके.

ननु चात्रापि तपरकरणसामर्थ्यादेव न भविष्यति

Oh ! even here it does not come on account of **तपरकरण** itself.

अस्ति ह्यन्यत्तपरकरणे प्रयोजनम्

No, for there is another benefit accruing from **तपरकरण**..

किम्? What ?

सर्वस्य लोपो मा भूदिति

So that the elision of the whole may not take place.

अथ क्रियमाणेऽपि तपरे परस्य लोपे कृते पूर्वस्य कस्मान्न भवति?

Even if there is **तपरकरण**, why is not the preceding letter dropped after the elision of the succeeding letter ?

परलोपस्य स्थानिवद्भावादसिद्धत्वाच्च

On account of the **स्थानिवद्भाव** of the elision of the succeeding element and its being **असिद्ध**.

एवं तर्हि आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति न आकारस्थस्याकारस्य लोपो भवतीति, यदयम् आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः इति ककारमनुबन्धं करोति

If so, *ācārya's* procedure suggests that *a* in *ā* is not elided since he reads the *anubandha* **क्** in the *sūtra* **आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः**.

कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम्?

In what manner should it be understood so that it may be taken as a *jñāpaka* ?

कित्करणे एतत्प्रयोजनम् कितीत्याकारलोपो यथा स्यात् इति । यद्याकारस्थस्याकारस्य लोपः स्यात् कित्करणमनर्थकं स्यात्—परस्य अकारस्य लोपे कृते द्वयोरकारयोः पररूपे हि सिद्धं रूपं स्याद् गोदः कम्बलदः इति— । पश्यति त्वाचार्यो नाकारस्थस्याकारस्य लोपः स्यादिति; अतः ककारमनुबन्धं करोति

This is the benefit of कित्करण that the elision of *ā* may take place on account of the mention of किति. If the *a* in *ā* can be elided, कित्करण will be of no use—when the succeeding *a* is elided, and when there is पररूप with respect to the two *a*'s the forms गोद्दः and कम्बलदः are formed.—The *ācārya* sees that *a* in *ā* is not elided and hence uses the *anubandha* क्.

नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकम् । उत्तरार्थमेतत् स्यात् **तुन्दशोकयोः परिमृजापनुदोः** इति

This is not a *jñāpaka*. This is for the sake of the following *sūtra* **तुन्दशोकयोः परिमृजापनुदोः**.

यत्तर्हि **गापोष्टक्** इत्यनन्यार्थं ककारमनुबन्धं करोति

If so, he reads the **अकार** with the *anubandha* क् in the *sūtra* **गापोष्टक्** which serves no other purpose.

एकवर्णवच्च

As one letter too.

एकवर्णवच्च दीर्घो भवतीति वक्तव्यम्

It should also be said that long letter is taken as one letter.

किं प्रयोजनम्? Why?

वाचा तरतीति द्व्यज्लक्षणष्ठन्मा भूदिति; इह च वाचो निमित्तं **तस्य निमित्तं संयोगोत्पातौ** इत्यनुवर्तमाने **गो द्व्यचः** . . . इति द्व्यज्लक्षणो यन्मा भूदिति

So that the suffix *than* which takes place after a dissyllable by the *sūtra* **नौद्व्यचष्ठन्** may not appear in the word **वाचिक** which means **वाचा तरति** and so that **यत्** which comes after a dissyllable by the *sūtra* **गो द्व्यचः** . . . in the sense of **निमित्त** of **संयोग** or **उत्पात** which is taken there from the *sūtra* **तस्य निमित्तं संयोगोत्पातौ** may not come after the word **वाच्** when the meaning **वाचो निमित्तम्** has to be conveyed.

अत्रापि गोनौग्रहणं ज्ञापकं, दीर्घाद् द्व्यज्लक्षणो विधिर्न भवति इति

Even here the mention of the two words **गो** and **नौ** suggests that the *sūtras* dealing with dissylables do not operate in a long vowel.

अयं तु सर्वेषामेव परिहारः —

This will serve as an answer to meet all the points raised against.

नाव्यपवृक्तस्यावयवस्य तद्विधिर्यथा द्रव्येषु

Their rules do not operate in the case of those which resemble them and form part of other letters but are not taken cognisance of as separate from the whole, as in *dravyas*.

नाव्यपवृक्तस्यावयवस्य अवयवाश्रयो विधिर्भवति यथा द्रव्येषु । तद्यथा—द्रव्येषु सप्तदश सामिधेन्यो भवन्तीति न सप्तदशारत्निमात्रं काष्ठमग्नावभ्याधीयते

The rules of those letters do not operate in the case of those which resemble them and form part of other letters, but are not taken cognisance of as such, as in *dravyas*. For instance in the case of *dravyas*, the purpose of the rule **सप्तदश सामिधेन्यो भवन्ति** is not satisfied when a wood seventeen cubits long is thrown on fire.

विषम उपन्यासः, प्रत्यृचं चैव हि तत्कर्म चोद्यते, असम्भवश्चाग्नौ वेद्यां च

The argument is not sound. The *karma* is enjoined with reference to every *ṛk* and it is impossible either for the fire or for the altar to hold it.

यथा तर्हि सप्तदश प्रादेशमात्रीराश्वत्थीः समिधोऽभ्यादधीत इति न सप्तदशप्रादेशमात्रं काष्ठमग्नावभ्याधीयते

If so, the purpose of the rule **सप्तदश प्रादेशमात्रीराश्वत्थीः समिधोऽभ्यादधीत** is not satisfied when a wood seventeen spans long is thrown into the fire.

अत्रापि प्रतिप्रणवं चैतत्कर्म चोद्यते, तुल्यश्चासंभवोऽग्नौ वेद्यां च

Even here the *karma* is enjoined with reference to the recital of *praṇava* each time and it is impossible for the fire or the altar to hold it.

यथा तर्हि तैलं न विक्रेतव्यं, मांसं न विक्रेतव्यम् इति व्यपवृक्तं च न विक्रीयते अव्यपवृक्तं गावः सर्षपाश्च विक्रीयन्ते; तथा लोमनखं स्पृष्ट्वा शौचं कर्तव्यमिति व्यपवृक्तं स्पृष्ट्वा नियोगतः कर्तव्यम्, अव्यपवृक्ते कामचारः

If so, as, when it is said that oil should not be sold and that meat should not be sold, they are not sold when they are separated from the whole, but the cows and mustard wherein they are not separated are sold, and as, when it is said that one should purify himself on touching hair and nail, it is *obligatory* to do it on touching them when they are separated from the body and it does not matter whether one touches them or not when they are not separated from the body, (so is here also).

यत्र तर्हि व्यपवर्गोऽस्ति?

What will be the case where there is **व्यपवर्ग**?

क च व्यपवर्गोऽस्ति?

Where is **व्यपवर्ग**?

सन्ध्यक्षरेषु

In diphthongs.

सन्ध्यक्षरेषु विवृतत्त्वात्

(Not) in dipthongs, on account of openness.

यदत्र अवर्णं विवृततरं तदन्यस्मात् अवर्णात्, ये अपि इवर्णोवर्णे विवृततरे ते अन्याभ्यामिवर्णोवर्णाभ्याम्

No, there is no व्यपवर्ग in diphthongs on account of विवृतत्व. The *a* here is more open than *a* elsewhere and the *i* and *u* here are more open than *i* and *u* elsewhere.

अथवा पुनर्न गृह्यन्ते

Or वर्णैकदेशs are not considered to be those which they resemble.

अग्रहणं चेत् नुड्विधिलादेशविनामेषु ऋकारग्रहणम्

If it is not taken so, the reading of the letter *ṛ* after the *sūtras* enjoining नुट्, लादेश and णत्व.

अग्रहणं चेत् नुड्विधिलादेशविनामेषु ऋकारस्य ग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् । तस्मान्नुड् द्विहलः ऋकारे चेति वक्तव्यम्, इहापि यथा स्यात् आनृधतुः आनृधुः इति । यस्य पुनर्गृह्यन्ते द्विहल इत्येव तस्य सिद्धम्

If वर्णैकदेशs are not considered to be those which they resemble, the letter *ṛ* should be read after the *sūtras* enjoining नुट्, लादेश and णत्व. After the *sūtra* तस्मान्नुड् द्विहलः, ऋकारे च should be read, so that the forms आनृधतुः and आनृधुः may be got. By him who holds the वर्णैकदेशग्रहणपक्ष, it is achieved by the word द्विहलः itself.

यस्यापि न गृह्यन्ते, तस्याप्येष न दोषः । द्विहल्ग्रहणं न करिष्यते, तस्मान्नुड् भवतीत्येव

It is no harm even to him who holds the अग्रहणपक्ष. The word द्विहलः is not read and the *sūtra* becomes तस्मान्नुट्.

यदि न क्रियते आटतुः आटुः इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति

If it is not read, नुट् will appear in आटतुः and आटुः

अश्नोतिग्रहणं नियमार्थं भविष्यति, अश्नोतेरेव अवर्णोपधस्य नान्यस्य अवर्णोपधस्येति

The mention of अश्नोति (in the *sūtra* अश्नोतेश्च 7-4-72) is to restrict its application that नुट् occurs only to अश् which has अ as its penultimate and not to similar roots which have अ as their penultimate.

लादेशे च ऋकारग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्—**कृपो रो लः**, ऋकारस्य च इति वक्तव्यम्-इहापि यथा स्यात् क्लृप्तः क्लृप्तवान् इति । यस्य पुनर्गृह्यन्ते र इत्येव तस्य सिद्धम्

Ṛ should be read after *sūtras* dealing with **लादेश** thus—**कृपो रो लः, ऋकारस्य च** so that **लादेश** may take place here also–in **क्लृप्तः** and **क्लृप्तवान्**. By him who holds the **ग्रहणपक्ष**, it is achieved by the word **रः** itself.

यस्यापि न गृह्यन्ते तस्याप्येष न दोषः । ऋकारोऽप्यत्र निर्दिश्यते

It is no harm even to him who holds **अग्रहणपक्ष**. The word **ऋकार** also is read here.

कथम् ? How?

अविभक्तिको निर्देशः, कृप उः रः लः कृपो रो ल इति

Mention without case-suffix thus—**कृप उः रः लः**

अथवा उभयतः स्फोटमात्रं निर्दिश्यते—रश्रुतेर्लश्रुतिर्भवति इति

Or the genus is denoted in both—*r* becomes *l* *

विनामे ऋकारग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्—**रषाभ्यां नो णः समानपदे** ऋकाराच्च इति वक्तव्यम्–इहापि यथा स्यात् मातृणां पितृणाम् इति । यस्य पुनर्गृह्यन्ते रषाभ्याम् इत्येव तस्य सिद्धम्

* र् in ऋ of कृप् becomes ल् found in लृ so that क्लृप्त is formed from कृप् and र् becomes ल् so that कल्पित is formed from कृप्.

ऋ should be read after the *sūtra* dealing with णत्व thus—रषाभ्यां नो णः समानपदे, ऋकाराच्च so that णत्व may occur even here—in मातॄणाम्, पितॄणाम्. To him who holds the ग्रहणपक्ष, the object is achieved by the word रषाभ्याम्.

न सिध्यति, यत्तद्रेफात्परं भक्तेः, तेन व्यवहितत्वान्न प्राप्नोति

No, it is not achieved since न् (in मातॄणां and पितॄणाम्) is separated from र् the former part of ऋ by its latter part.

मा भूदेवम्, अड्व्यवाय इत्येव सिद्धम्

Let it not be so; it is achieved by the *sūtra* अट्कुप्वाङ्नुम् व्यवायेऽपि.

न सिध्यति No, it is not.

वर्णैकदेशाः के वर्णग्रहणेन गृह्यन्ते?

Which वर्णैकदेशs are taken like वर्णs?

ये व्यपवृक्ता अपि वर्णा भवन्ति

Those which exist as वर्णs even outside them.

यच्चापि रेफात्परं भक्तेः, न तत्क्वचिदपि व्यपवृक्तं दृश्यते

That element which is after र् in ऋ is not found anywhere as a separate letter.

एवं तर्हि योगविभागः करिष्यते– रषाभ्यां नो णः समानपदे ततो व्यवाये व्यवाये च रषाभ्यां नो णो भवतीति, ततः अट्कुप्वाङ्नुम्भिः इति

If so the *sūtra* is split thus—रषाभ्यां नो णः समानपदे and then व्यवाये (even when separated by others *n* becomes *ṇ* after र् and ष् in a single word)—and then अट्कुप्वाङ्नुम्भिः.

इदमिदानीं किमर्थम्?

What is this for now?

नियमार्थम्। एतैरेवाक्षरसमाम्नायिकैर्व्यवाये नान्यैरिति

For the sake of *niyama*, so that (it may take place) only when they are separated by only these letters of **वर्णसमाम्नाय** and none else.

यस्यापि न गृह्यन्ते तस्याप्येष न दोषः। आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति भवति ऋकारान्नो णत्वमिति, यदयं क्षुभ्नादिषु नृनमनशब्दं पठति

It is no harm even to him who holds the **अग्रहणपक्ष**.—The use of *ācārya* suggests that *n* becomes *ṇ* after **ऋ** since he reads the word **नृनमन** in **क्षुभ्नादिगण**.

नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकम्, वृद्ध्यर्थमेतत्स्यात् नार्नमनिः—

No, this is not a *jñāpaka*. It is there for the sake of *vṛddhi* in **नार्नमनि**:

यर्त्तर्हि तृप्नोतिशब्दं पठति

If so, he reads **तृप्नोति** *.

यच्चापि नृनमनशब्दं पठति

Or as he reads **नृनमन**.

ननु चोक्तं वृद्ध्यर्थमेतत्स्यात्?

Has it not been said that it is for the sake of *vṛddhi*?

बहिरङ्गा वृद्धिः, अन्तरङ्गं णत्वम्, असिद्धं बहिरङ्गम् अन्तरङ्गे

* तृप्नोति is found only in पाठान्तर.

Vrddhi is वहिरङ्ग and *ṇatva* is अन्तरङ्ग and बहिरङ्ग is *asiddha* when अन्तरङ्गकार्य is to be done.

अथवा उपरिष्टाद्योगविभागः करिष्यते—**ऋतः**—नो णो भवति, ततः—**छन्द-स्यवग्रहात्**—ऋत इत्येव

Or the *sūtra* छन्दस्यृदवग्रहात् which comes later on is split into ऋतः and छन्दस्यवग्रहात्; the former is taken to mean ऋतो नो णो भवति and the word ऋतः is taken to follow in the succeeding *sūtra* also.

प्लुतावैच इदुतौ

The *sūtra* प्लुतावैच इदुतौ (is necessary).

एतच्च वक्तव्यम् । यस्य पुनर्गृह्यन्ते **गुरोष्टेः** इत्येव प्लुत्या तस्य सिद्धम्

The *sūtra* प्लुतावैच इदुतौ has also to be read. For him who holds ग्रहणपक्ष, its purpose is served by गुरोष्टेः.

यस्यापि न गृह्यन्ते तस्याप्येष न दोषः, क्रियते न्यास एव *

It is no harm even to him who holds अग्रहणपक्ष since the *sūtra* itself is read (by the *Sūtrakāra*).

तुल्यरूपे संयोगे द्विव्यञ्जनविधिः

Rules relating to two consonants in the case of one consonant followed by the same.

तुल्यरूपे संयोगे द्विव्यञ्जनाश्रयो विधिर्न सिध्यति—कुक्कुटः, पिप्पली, पित्तम् इति । यस्य पुनर्गृह्यन्ते तस्य द्वौ ककारौ, द्वौ पकारौ, द्वौ तकारौ

Rules relating to two consonants in the case of one consonant followed by the same will not take place, as in कुक्कुटः,

* क्रियते एतन्न्यास एव is another reading.

पिप्पली and पित्तम्. For him who holds the ग्रहणपक्ष there are two ककारs, two पकारs and two तकारs.

यस्यापि न गृह्यन्ते तस्यापि द्वौ ककारौ द्वौ पकारौ द्वौ तकारौ

Even for him who holds अग्रहणपक्ष, there are two ककारs, two पकारs and two तकारs.

कथम्? How?

मात्राकालोऽत्र गम्यते, न च मात्रिकं व्यञ्जनमस्ति । अनुपदिष्टं सत्कथं शक्यं विज्ञातुम्, असच्च कथं शक्यं प्रतिपत्तुम्?

The time taken by *mātrās* is here taken into account. There is no consonant which has one *mātrā*. How is it possible for one to take cognisance of a thing which has not been read and to know a thing which does not exist?

यद्यपि तावदत्रैतच्छक्यते वक्तुं यत्रैतन्नास्ति **अण् सवर्णान् गृह्णाति** इति, इह तु कथं सय्ँयन्ता, सव्ँवत्सरः, यल्ँलोकम्, तल्ँलोकम्, इति यत्रैतत् अस्त्यण् सवर्णान् गृह्णाति इति?

Even though it is possible to say so where the principle अण् सवर्णान् गृह्णाति does not operate, how can it be here in सय्ँयन्ता, सव्ँवत्सरः, यल्ँलोकम्, तल्ँलोकम् where the same principle operates?

अत्रापि मात्राकालो गृह्यते, न च मात्रिकं व्यञ्जनमस्ति । अनुपदिष्टं सत्कथं शक्यं विज्ञातुम्, असच्च कथं शक्यं प्रतिपत्तुम्?

Even here the time taken by *mātrās* is taken into account. There is no consonant which has one *mātrā*. How is it possible for one to take cognisance of a thing which has not been read and to know a thing which does not exist?

हयवरट्

Six topics are dealt with here. They are (1) the need for reading ह in two *sūtras* (2) which is better—हयवरट् or हरयवट्? (3) since अयोगवाहs are not read in प्रत्याहारसूत्रs, where are they to be taken to have been read? (4) do letters have meaning or not? (5) why are not *anubandhas* in प्रत्याहार taken as अच्? and (6) why should semi-vowels be mentioned in the *sūtra* अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः.

I

सर्वे वर्णाः सकृदुपदिष्टाः, अयं हकारो द्विरुपदिश्यते पूर्वश्चैव परश्च । यदि पुनः पूर्व एवोपदिश्येत पर एव वा, कश्चात्र विशेषः?

All letters are read once; this हकार is read twice before * and after. † If it is read either before or after, what would have been the difference?

हकारस्य परोपदेशे अड्ग्रहणेषु हग्रहणम्

Hakāra being read after, mention of *hakāra* in *sūtras* mentioning अट्.

हकारस्य परोपदेशे अड्ग्रहणेषु हग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्, **आतोऽटि नित्यम्, शश्छोऽटि दीर्घादटि समानपादे हकारे च** इति वक्तव्यम्, इहापि यथा स्यात् महाँ हि सः

If *hakāra* is read after, mention has to be made of *hakāra* wherever the *pratyāhāra* अट् is mentioned. For instance in the *sūtras* आतोऽटि नित्यम्, शश्छोऽटि, दीर्घादटि समानपादे, हकारे च must be read so that the rule may operate here also—in महाँ हि सः

* In the *sūtra* हयवरट्   † In the *sūtra* हल्

उत्वे च

Also in *sūtras* dealing with उत्व.

उत्वे च हकारग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्, **अतो रोरप्लुतादप्लुते, हशि च, हकारे च** इति वक्तव्यम्, इहापि यथा स्यात् **पुरुषो** हसति, **ब्राह्मणो** हसति .

Hakāra has to be read also in *sūtras* dealing with उत्व. For instance in the *sūtra* हशि च after अतो रोरप्लुतादप्लुते, हकारे च must be read so that the rule may operate here also—in पुरुषो हसति, ब्राह्मणो हसति.

अस्तु तर्हि पूर्वोपदेशः

If so, let it be read before.

पूर्वोपदेशे कित्त्वक्सेड्विधयो झल्ग्रहणानि च

It being read before, injunction of कित्त्व, क्स and इट् and झल्ग्रहण.

यदि पूर्वोपदेशः, कित्त्वं विधेयम्–स्निहित्वा स्नेहित्वा सिस्निहिषति सिस्नेहिषति–**रलो व्युपधाद्धलादेः** इति कित्त्वं न प्राप्नोति । क्सविधिः, क्सश्च विधेयः—अघुक्षत् अलिक्षत्–**शल इगुपधादनिटः क्सः** इति क्सो न प्राप्नोति । इड्विधिः, इट् च विधेयः—रुदिहि स्वपिहि– वलादिलक्षण इण् न प्राप्नोति । झल्ग्रहणानि च । किम्? । अहकाराणि स्युः । तत्र को दोषः? **झलो झलि** इति इह न स्यात्, अदाग्धाम्, अदाग्धम्

If it is read before, कित्त्व has to be enjoined in cases like स्निहित्वा स्नेहित्वा, सिस्निहिषति, सिस्नेहिषति since they cannot be operated upon by the *sūtra* रलो व्युपधाद्धलादेः, (for ह् cannot be included under the *pratyāhāra* रल्.) क्स has to be enjoined in cases like अघुक्षत्, अलिक्षत् since they cannot be operated upon by शल इगुपधादनिटः क्सः (for ह cannot be included under the *pratyāhāra* शल्) इट् has to be enjoined in cases like रुदिहि, स्वपिहि since they cannot be operated upon by रुदादिभ्यः सार्वधातुके (for ह् cannot be

included under the *pratyāhāra* वल्. *Sūtras* dealing with झल् also. Why? They will not include ह. What is the harm there? The *sūtra* झलो झलि cannot operate in अदाग्धाम्, अदाग्धम्.

तस्मात् पूर्वश्चैव उपदेष्टव्यः परश्च । यदि च किंचिद् अन्यत्राप्युपदेशे प्रयोजनमस्ति तत्राप्युपदेशः कर्तव्यः

Therefore it has to be read before and after. If there be any use of its being read elsewhere, there too should it be read.

II

इदं विचार्यते अयं रेफो यकारवकाराभ्यां पूर्व एवोपदिश्येत हरयवट् इति, पर एव वा यथान्यासम् इति

This is to be discussed whether रेफ is to be read before य and व as हरयवट् or after them as it is in the *sūtra*.

कश्चात्र विशेषः ?

What is the difference here?

रेफस्य परोपदेशे अनुनासिकद्विर्वचनपरसवर्णप्रतिषेधः

रेफ being read after, prohibition of अनुनासिक, द्विर्वचन and परसवर्ण.

रेफस्य परोपदेशे अनुनासिकद्विर्वचनपरसवर्णानां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । अनुनासिकस्य—प्रातर्नयति स्वर्नयति, यरोऽनुनासिकेऽनुनासिको वा इत्यनुनासिकः प्राप्नोति । द्विर्वचनस्य—मद्रह्रदः, भद्रह्रदः, यर इति द्विर्वचनं प्राप्नोति । परसवर्णस्य—कुण्डं रथेन, वनं रथेन, अनुस्वारस्य ययि . . . इति परसवर्णः प्राप्नोति

If रेफ is read after य and व (as it is in the *sūtra*), nasalisation, doubling and likening to the following letter should be prohibited. As regards nasalisation, in cases like स्वनयति, प्रातर्नयति the *sūtra* यरोऽनुनासिकेऽनुनासिको वा will operate. As regards doubling, in cases like मद्रह्रदः भद्रह्रदः doubling

will take place by the *sūtra* अनचि च (since रेफ is included under the *pratyāhāra* यर्.) As regards the likening to the following letter, in cases like कुण्डं रथेन, वनं रथेन, the *sūtra* अनुस्वारस्य ययि परसवर्णः will operate so that परसवर्ण will take place.

अस्तु तर्हि पूर्वोपदेशः

If so, let it be read before them.

पूर्वोपदेशे किच्त्वप्रतिषेधो व्यलोपवचनं च

It being read before, prohibition of कित्त्व and mention of व्यलोप.

यदि पूर्वोपदेशः कित्त्वं प्रतिषेध्यं—देवित्वा, दिदेविषति—रलो व्युपधात् . . . इति कित्त्वं प्राप्नोति

If it is read before, कित्त्व has to be prohibited; otherwise क्त्वा and सन् will become optionally कित् in देवित्वा and दिदेविषति by the *sūtra* रलो व्युपधात् . . (since व् will be included in the *pratyāhāra* रल्).

नैष दोषः, नैवं विज्ञायते रलो व्युपधात् इति

There will be no room for this flaw since it is not understood thus—रलः व्युपधात् . . .

किं तर्हि? How then?

रलः अव्व्युपधात् इति

Thus—रलः अव्व्युपधात्.

किमिदं अव्व्युपधात् इति?

What does अव्व्युपधात् mean here?

अवकारान्तात् व्युपधात् अव्व्युपधात् इति

After **व्युपध** which does not end in **व्**.

व्यलोपवचनं च । व्योश्च लोपो वक्तव्यः । गौधेरः, पचेरन्, यजेरन्, जीवे रदानुः–जीरदानुः ; वलीति लोपो न प्राप्नोति इति

Mention of the elision of **य्** and **व्**. The elision of **य्** and **व्** should be mentioned in the following cases **गौधेरः**, **पचेरन्**, **यजेरन्**, **जीरदानुः** (the suffix **रदानुः** after **जीव्** by **जीवेरदानुः**) since **र्** is not included in the *pratyāhāra* **वल्**.

नैष दोषः रेफोऽप्यत्र निर्दिश्यते, लोपो व्योर्वलीति रेफे च वलि च इति

There is no room for this flaw. **रेफ** also is mentioned here thus **लोपो व्योर्वलि, रेफे च वलि च.** *

अथवा पुनरस्तु परोपदेशः

Or let there be **परोपदेश** itself.

ननु चोक्तं रेफस्य परोपदेशे अनुनासिकद्विर्वचनपरसवर्णप्रतिषेध इति ?

Has it not been said that, if there is **परोपदेश** prohibition of nasaliation, doubling and likening to the following letter should be made ?

अनुनासिकपरसवर्णयोस्तावत् प्रतिषेधो न वक्तव्यः, रेफोष्मणां सवर्णा न सन्ति । द्विर्वचनेऽपि, नेमौ रहौ कार्यिणौ द्विर्वचनस्य । किं तर्हि ? निमित्तमिमौ रहौ द्विर्वचनस्य ; तद्यथा—ब्राह्मणा भोज्यन्तां माठरकौण्डिन्यौ परिवेविषाताम् इति, नेदानीं तौ भुञ्जाते

First there is no need for the prohibition of **अनुनासिक** and **परसवर्ण** since **रेफ** and fricatives have no like letters. Even

* The defect in this case is that र् has to be read which is not in the *sūtra*.

in द्विर्वचन, रेफ and हकार are not the recipients of द्विर्वचन. What then? They are निमित्तs of द्विर्वचन. It is analogous to this—when it is said that brahmins may be fed and माठर and कौण्डिन्य may serve, they two do not dine then.

III

इदं विचार्यते—इमे अयोगवाहा * न क्वचिदुपदिश्यन्ते श्रूयन्ते च, तेषां कार्यार्थ उपदेश कर्तव्यः

This is discussed that these अयोगवाहs are read nowhere but heard (in words) and they have to be read to be operated upon by the *sūtras*.

के पुनरयोगवाहाः?

What are अयोगवाहs?

विसर्जनीयजिह्वामूलीयोपध्मानीयानुस्वारयमाः

They are *visarga*, *jihvāmūlīya*, *upadhmānīya*, *anusvāra* and *yama*.

कथं पुनरयोगवाहाः?

How are they called अयोगवाहs?

यदयुक्ता वहन्ति, अनुपदिष्टाश्च श्रूयन्ते

Since they being heard without being read are operated upon without being included in any *pratyāhāra*.

* It is interesting to note that Kannaḍa grammarians began to use the term *yōgavāha* in place of *ayōgavāha*; this is perhaps due to false etymology that those letters are found only in the company of others or metanalysis.

Cf. Jihvāmūlīyōpadhmānīyabinduvisargaṅgaḷam vyañjanasaṁjñeyalli yōgavāhaṅgaḷendu pēḷvar (Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa 1,22 commentary)

क पुनरेषामुपदेशः कर्तव्यः ?

Where are these to be read ?

अयोगवाहानामट्सु णत्वम्

Reading of अयोगवाहs among अट् for the sake of णत्व.

अयोगवाहानामट्सु उपदेशः कर्तव्यः । किं प्रयोजनम् ? णत्वम्—उरःकेण उरᳲकेण, उरःपेण उरᳲपेण, अड्व्यवाये इति णत्वं सिद्धं भवति

Reading of अयोगवाहs among the letters included in the *pratyāhāra* अट् is necessary. What is the use ? णत्व, as in उरःकेण; उरᳲ केण, उरःपेण and उरᳲपेण। णत्व can be accomplished since there is अड्व्यवाय.

शर्षु जश्भावषत्वे

Their reading among शर् for the sake of जश्त्व and षत्व.

शर्षूपदेशः कर्तव्यः । किं प्रयोजनम् ? जश्भावषत्वे । अयमुब्जिरुपध्मानीयोपधः पठ्यते ; तस्य जश्त्वे कृते उब्जिता उब्जितुम् इत्येतद्रूपं यथा स्यात्

They have to be read among शर्. What is the use? For the sake of जश्त्व and षत्व. This root उब्ज् is read with *upadhmānīya* for its penultimate. If it takes जश्त्व, the forms उब्जिता and उब्जितुम् may be got.

यद्युब्जिरुपध्मानीयोपधः पठ्यते उब्जिजिषति इति उपध्मानीयादेरेव द्विर्वचनं प्राप्नोति, दकारोपधे पुनः **नन्द्राः संयोगादयः** इति प्रतिषेधः सिद्धो भवति

If the root उब्ज् is read with *upadhmānīya* for its penultimate, the doubling of that commencing with *upadhmānīya* (*i. e.*) ब्जि in उब्जिजिषति takes place. If, on the other hand, the penultimate is दकार, prohibition of its doubling takes place by the *sūtra* नन्द्राः संयोगादयः.

यदि दकारोपधः पठ्यते क्का रूपसिद्धिः, उब्जिता, उब्जितुम् इति ?

If it is read with दकार for its penultimate, how are the forms **उब्जिता** and **उब्जितुम्** to be got?

असिद्धे भ उद्जेः–इदमस्ति **स्तोः श्चुना श्चुः** इति, ततो वक्ष्यामि **भ उद्जेः**, उद्जेः श्चुना सन्निपाते भो भवतीति

In the *asiddhaprakaraṇa* the reading of भ उद्जेः. Here is the *sūtra* स्तोः श्चुना श्चुः ; then shall I read भ उद्जेः so that द् of उद्ज् will become भ् when it is followed by श् and चवर्ग.

तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम्

Then it is to be read.

न वक्तव्यम्, निपातनादेव सिद्धम्

No, it need not be read since it is accomplished by *nipātana*.

किं निपातनम् ?

Which *nipātana*?

भुजन्युब्जौ पाण्युपतापयोः इति

The *nipātana* is भुजन्युब्जौ पाण्युपतापयोः

इहापि तर्हि प्राप्नोति, अभ्युद्गः समुद्गः इति

Even here in अभ्युद्गः and समुद्गः will it come.

अकुत्वविषये तन्निपातनम् । अथवा नैतदुब्जे रूपं, गमेरेतत् द्व्युपसर्गाड्डो विधीयते, अभ्युद्गतः अभ्युद्गः, समुद्गतः समुद्ग इति

The *nipātana* is where there is no कुत्व. Or this is not derived from the root उब्ज्, but from गम् where डः takes place when

the root गम् is preceded by two prepositions. अभ्युद्गतः becomes अभ्युद्गः, and समुद्गतः becomes समुद्गः.

षत्वं च प्रयोजनम्—सर्पिःषु, धनुःषु—शर्व्यवाय इति षत्वं सिद्धं भवति, नुम्विसर्जनीयशर्व्यवायेऽपि इति विसर्जनीयग्रहणं न कर्तव्यं भवति

षत्व is the benefit as in सर्पिःषु and धनुःषु. It is achieved since there is शर्व्यवाय. So the word विसर्जनीय in नुम्विसर्जनीयशर्व्यवाये is unnecessary.

नुमश्चापि तर्हि ग्रहणं शक्यमकर्तुम्

In that case even the word नुम् is unnecessary.

कथं सर्पींषि, धनूंषि ?

How are the forms सर्पींषि and धनूंषि to be got ?

अनुस्वारे कृते शर्व्यवाय इत्येव सिद्धम्

After the *anusvāra* is brought in, षत्व is accomplished by शर्व्यवाय.

अवश्यं नुमो ग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्, अनुस्वारविशेषणं नुमग्रहणम्, नुमो योऽनुस्वारः तत्र यथा स्यात्, इह मा भूत्-पुंसु इति

Reading of नुम् is necessary. It is taken as the विशेषण of *anusvāra* so that षत्व may take place where *anusvāra* has replaced नुम् and may not take place in पुंसु.

अथवा अविशेषेणोपदेशः कर्तव्यः

Or they have to be read wherever necessary.

किं प्रयोजनम् ?

What is the use ?

अविशेषेण संयोगोपधासंज्ञालोऽन्त्यद्विर्वचनस्थानिवद्भावप्रतिषेधाः

Reading wherever necessary for the sake of the संज्ञाs, संयोग and उपधा, for the operation of अलोऽन्त्यविधि and द्विर्वचनविधि and for the prohibition of स्थानिवद्भाव.

अविशेषेण संयोगसंज्ञा प्रयोजनम्—उ३ज्जक-**हलोऽनन्तराः संयोगः** इति संयोगसंज्ञा, **संयोगे गुरु** इति गुरुसंज्ञा, **गुरोः** . . . इति प्लुतो भवति । उपधासंज्ञा च प्रयोजनम्—दुष्कृतम्, निष्कृतम्, दुष्पीतम्, निष्पीतम्, **इदुदुपधस्य चाप्रत्ययस्य** इति षत्वं सिद्धं भवति

By reading it wherever necessary, संयोगसंज्ञा is one *prayōjana*. In उ३ज्जक, the letter उ is *pluta* संयोगसंज्ञा and गुरुसंज्ञा are got by the operation of the *sūtras* हलोऽनन्तराः संयोगः and संयोगे गुरु and it becomes *pluta* after being operated upon by the *sūtra* गुरोः . . . . . उपधासंज्ञा also is another *prayōjana*. The षत्व is achieved in दुष्कृतम्, निष्कृतम्, दुष्पीतम् and निष्पीतम् by the operation of the *sūtra* इदुदुपधस्य चाप्रत्ययस्य.

नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम् ; न इदुदुपधग्रहणेन विसर्जनीयो विशेष्यते

This is not a *prayōjana*, for the penultimate इ and उ do not qualify the *visarga*.

किं तर्हि ? What then ?

सकारो विशेष्यते, इदुदुपधस्य सकारस्य यो विसर्जनीय इति

सकार is qualified thus—the *visarga* which has replaced सकार in the word having for the penultimate इत् and उत्.

अथवा उपधाग्रहणं न करिष्यते । इदुद्भ्यां तु परं विसर्जनीयं विशेषयिष्यामः इदुद्भ्यामुत्तरस्य विसर्जनीयस्य इति

Or उपधा is not read there. We shall qualify the *visarga* as followed by इत् and उत् thus—इदुद्भ्यामुत्तरस्य विसर्जनीयस्य.

अलोऽन्त्यविधिश्च प्रयोजनम्—वृक्षस्तरति, प्लक्षस्तरति,—अलोऽन्त्यस्य विधयो भवन्तीति अलोऽन्त्यस्य सत्वं सिद्धं भवति

The operation of अलोऽन्त्यविधि also is a *prayōjana*. In the examples वृक्षस्तरति and प्लक्षस्तरति, सकार takes the place of *visarga* by taking recourse to the rule अलोऽन्त्यस्य विधयो भवन्ति.

एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् । निर्दिश्यमानस्य आदेशा भवन्ति इति विसर्जनीयस्यैव भविष्यति

This too is not a *prayōjana*. Since *ādēśas* replace only what is mentioned ; सकार replaces only the *visarga*.

द्विर्वचनं प्रयोजनम्—उरःकः, उरःपः– अनचि च अच उत्तरस्य यरो द्वे भवत इति द्विर्वचनं सिद्धं भवति

Doubling is another benefit. In the examples उरःकः and उरःपः doubling is achieved by the operation of the *sūtra* अनचि च which means that यर् following a vowel is doubled.

स्थानिवद्भावप्रतिषेधश्च प्रयोजनम्, यथेह भवति उरःकेण, उरःपेण, इति अड्व्यवाय इति णत्वम् एवमिहापि स्थानिवद्भावात्प्राप्नोति, व्यूढोरस्केन महोरस्केन इति; तत्र अनल्विधौ इति प्रतिषेधः सिद्धो भवति

स्थानिवद्भावप्रतिषेध also is a *prayōjana* ; just as णत्व may come by अड्व्यवाय in उरःकेण and उरःपेण, so also the णत्व may come by स्थानिवद्भाव in व्यूढोरस्केन and महोरस्केन and it is prevented by अनल्विधौ.

IV

किं पुनरिमे वर्णा अर्थवन्तः, आहोस्वित् अनर्थकाः ?

Do these letters have meaning or no ?

अर्थवन्तो वर्णाः धातुप्रातिपदिकप्रत्ययनिपातानाम् एकवर्णानामर्थदर्शनात्

Letters have meaning, since there is meaning in one-lettered roots, stems, affixes and *nipātas.*

अर्थवन्तो वर्णाः । कुतः ? धातुप्रातिपदिकप्रत्ययनिपातानामेकवर्णानामर्थदर्शनात् । धातव एकवर्णा अर्थवन्तो दृश्यन्ते—एति, * अध्येति, † अधीते ‡ इति । प्रातिपदिकान्येकवर्णान्यर्थवन्ति—आभ्याम्, एभिः, एषु । प्रत्यया एकवर्णा अर्थवन्तः—औपगवः, कापटवः । निपाता एकवर्णा अर्थवन्तः—अ अपेहि, इ इन्द्रं पश्य, उ उत्तिष्ठ, अ अपक्राम । धातुप्रातिपदिकप्रत्ययनिपातानामेकवर्णानामर्थदर्शनान्मन्यामहे अर्थवन्तो वर्णा इति

Letters have meaning. Why ? Since meaning is found in one-lettered roots, stems, affixes and *nipātas.* One-lettered roots having meaning are found. *viz.* **एति, अध्येति, अधीते.** One-lettered stems having meaning are found. *viz.* **आभ्याम्, एभिः, एषु ।** One-lettered affixes having meaning are found. *viz.* **औपगवः, कापटवः.** One-lettered *nipātas* having meaning are found. *viz.* **अ अपेहि, इ इन्द्रं पश्य, उ उत्तिष्ठ, अ अपक्राम.** We think that letters have meaning since one-lettered roots, stems, affixes and *nipātas* are found to have meaning.

वर्णव्यत्यये चार्थान्तरगमनात्

On account of change in meaning by the change in letters.

वर्णव्यत्यये च अर्थान्तरगमनान्मन्यामहे अर्थवन्तो वर्णा इति—कूपः सूपो यूप इति—कूप इति सककारेण कश्चिदर्थो गम्यते, सूप इति ककारापाये सकारोपजने चार्थान्तरं गम्यते, यूप इति ककारसकारापाये यकारोपजनेऽर्थान्तरं गम्यते । तेन मन्यामहे यः कूपे कूपार्थः स ककारस्य § यः सूपे सूपार्थः स सकारस्य, यो यूपे यूपार्थः स यकारस्य इति

* Root इण्. † Root इक्. ‡ Root इङ्.

§ अन्येषां ग्रन्थाः सककारस्येति; त एवमाहुः सह ककारेण अर्थवत्ता इति (*Pradīpikā*)

We think that letters have meaning since meaning changes in words if one letter is replaced by another. *viz.* कूपः, सूपः, यूपः. The word कूपः is seen to have one meaning when it is with ककार; another meaning is seen in the word सूपः where क् is removed and स् is placed in its stead; and another meaning is seen in the word यूपः where both क् and स् are removed and य् is placed instead. Therefore we think that the meaning of the word कूप is in its ककार, that of सूप is in its सकार and that of यूप is in its यंकार.

वर्णानुपलब्धौ चानर्थगतेः

On account of the absence of that meaning in the absence of one letter.

वर्णानुपलब्धौ चानर्थगतेर्मन्यामहे अर्थवन्तो वर्णा इति—वृक्षः, ऋक्षः काण्डीरः, आण्डीरः—वृक्ष इति सवकारेण कश्चिदर्थो गम्यते, ऋक्ष इति वकारापाये सोऽर्थो न गम्यते। काण्डीर इति सककारेण कश्चिदर्थो गम्यते, आण्डीर इति ककारापाये सोऽर्थो न गम्यते

We think that letters have meaning since, in the absence of one letter, that meaning is not found. *viz.* वृक्षः, ऋक्षः; काण्डीरः, आण्डीरः. The word वृक्ष is found to have a meaning when it is with the letter व and when that letter is removed, the same meaning is not found in the word ऋक्षः. The word काण्डीरः is found to have a meaning when it is with the letter क and when that letter is removed, the same meaning is not found in the word आण्डीरः.

किं तर्ह्युच्यते अनर्थगतेः इति, न साधीयो ह्यत्रार्थस्य गतिर्भवति?

Why is it said अनर्थगतेः? Is not its meaning well understood?

एवं तर्हि इदं पठितव्यं स्यात् वर्णानुपलब्धौ चातदर्थगतेः इति

If so, it should be read thus वर्णानुपलब्धौ चातदर्थगतेः

किमिदम् अतदर्थगतेरिति ?

What is meant by **अतदर्थगतेः** ?

तस्यार्थः तदर्थः, तदर्थस्य गतिः तदर्थगतिः, न तदर्थगतिः अतदर्थगतिः, अतदर्थगतेरिति ।, अथवा सोऽर्थः तदर्थः, तदर्थस्य गतिः तदर्थगतिः, न तदर्थगतिः अतदर्थगतिः, अतदर्थगतेरिति

The word **अतदर्थगतेः** is taken to be the ablative case of **अतदर्थगतिः** which is the compound of **न** and **तदर्थगतिः**. **तदर्थगतिः** is taken to be the *tatpuruṣa* compound of **तदर्थ** and **गतिः**, where **तदर्थ** is the compound of **तस्य** and **अर्थः** . Or **अतदर्थगतेः** is taken to be the ablative case of **अतदर्थगतिः** which is the compound of **न** and **तदर्थगतिः** . **तदर्थगतिः** is taken to be the *tatpuruṣa* compound of **तदर्थ** and **गतिः**, where **तदर्थ** is the compound of **सः** and **अर्थः**

स तर्हि तथा निर्देशः कर्तव्यः

Then it should be read so.

न कर्तव्यः ; उत्तरपदलोपोऽत्र द्रष्टव्यः—तद्यथा उष्ट्रमुखमिव मुखम् अस्य उष्ट्रमुखः, खरमुखः । एवम् अतदर्थगतेः अनर्थगतेः इति

No, it need not be read. Here it is to be construed that the following word has been dropped. Just as in the word **उष्ट्रमुखः** whose **विग्रहवाक्य** is **उष्ट्रमुखमिव मुखम् अस्य** the word **मुखम्** after **उष्ट्र** is dropped and also in **खरमुखः**, so also in the word **अनर्थगतेः** the word **तद्** after **अ** is dropped *.

संघातार्थवत्त्वाच्च

On account of the collection having meaning.

* न् between अ and अर्थगतेः should be taken as intervocalic.

संघातार्थवत्त्वाच्च मन्यामहे अर्थवन्तो वर्णा इति, येषां संघाता अर्थवन्तः अवयवा अपि तेषाम् अर्थवन्तः। येषां ह्यवयवा अर्थवन्तः समुदाया अपि तेषां अर्थवन्तः— तद्यथा, एकश्चक्षुष्मान् दर्शने समर्थः तत्समुदायश्च शतमपि समर्थम्; एकश्च तिलस्तैलदाने समर्थः तत्समुदायश्च खार्यपि तैलदाने समर्था; येषां पुनरवयवा अनर्थकाः समुदाया अपि तेषामनर्थकाः—तद्यथा, एकोऽन्धो दर्शने असमर्थः तत्समुदायश्च शतमप्यसमर्थम्, एका च सिकता तैलदाने असमर्था तत्समुदायश्च खारीशतमप्यसमर्थम्

We think that letters have meaning since their collection has meaning. If the collections of letters have meaning, their parts too, have meaning. If the parts have meaning, their wholes also have meaning, *viz.* If one man with eyes is able to see, a collection of hundred such men is able to see. If one gingelly seed is capable of giving oil, 64 *marakkal* of gingelly seed is capable of giving oil. If the parts have no meaning, their wholes also cannot have meaning. *viz.* If one blind man is not able to see, a collection of hundred such men cannot see; if one particle of sand cannot give oil, hundred *khārī* of the same cannot give oil.

यदि तर्हि इमे वर्णा अर्थवन्तः अर्थवत्कृतानि प्राप्नुवन्ति †

If then these letters have meaning, they will be operated upon by the rules which operate on those that have meaning.

कानि? What are they?

अर्थवत्प्रातिपदिकम् इति प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञा, **प्रातिपदिकात्** इति स्वाद्युत्पत्तिः **सुबन्तं पदम्** इति पदसंज्ञा

† एतदुक्तं भवति—प्रयोगे अर्थवत्तायां सत्यां न दोषोऽस्ति, शास्त्रेषु किंचिद्विनश्यति (*Pradīpikā*)

They will get the designation **प्रातिपदिकम्** by **अर्थवत्प्रातिपदिकम्**, will receive the case-suffixes after them by **प्रातिपदिकात्**.. and will get the designation **पदम्** by **सुबन्तं पदम्**

तत्र को दोषः ?

What is the harm there ?

पदस्य इति नलोपादीनि प्राप्नुवन्ति धनं वनम् इति

The elision of **न** and others will take place in the words **धनम्** and **वनम्** by the operation of **पदस्य.**

संघातस्यैकार्थ्यात् सुबभावो वर्णात्

Collection having one meaning, absence of case-suffixes after letters.

संघातस्य एकत्वमर्थो, तेन वर्णात्सुबुत्पत्तिर्न भविष्यति

Since the collection has one meaning, case-suffixes will not come after each letter.

अनर्थकास्तु प्रतिवर्णमर्थानुपलब्धेः

Letters, on the other hand, have no meaning since meaning is not had for every letter.

अनर्थकास्तु वर्णाः । कुतः ? प्रतिवर्णमर्थानुपलब्धेः । न हि प्रतिवर्णमर्था उपलभ्यन्ते । किमिदं प्रतिवर्णमिति ? वर्णं वर्णं प्रति प्रतिवर्णम्

Letters have no meaning. Why ? Since meaning is not found for every letter. Meanings are not got for every letter. How is **प्रतिवर्णम्** derived ? **प्रतिवर्णम्** is derived thus—**वर्णं वर्णं प्रति.**

वर्णव्यत्ययापायोपजनविकारेष्वर्थदर्शनात्

Since the same meaning is present though there is metathesis, elision, augment or substitution of letters.

वर्णव्यत्ययापायोपजनविकारेष्वर्थदर्शनान्मन्यामहे अनर्थका वर्णा इति । वर्णव्यत्यये—कृतेस्तर्कः, कसेः सिकता, हिंसेः सिंहः ; वर्णव्यत्ययः नार्थव्यत्ययः । अपायो लोपः—हतः, घ्नन्ति, घ्नन्तु, अघ्नन्; वर्णापायो नार्थापायः । उपजन आगमः– लविता, लवितुम् ; वर्णोपजनः नार्थोपजनः । विकार आदेशः–घातयति, घातकः ; वर्णविकारो नार्थविकारः । यथैव वर्णव्यत्ययापायोपजनविकारा भवन्ति तद्वत् अर्थव्यत्ययापायोपजनविकारैर्भवितव्यम् न चेह तद्वत् । अतो मन्यामहे अनर्थका वर्णा इति

We think that letters have no meaning since the same meaning is found though there is metathesis, elision, augment or substitution of letters. In metathesis, **तर्कः** is from **कृत्**, **सिकता** is from **कस्** and **सिंहः** is from **हिंस्**; here is metathesis only of letters and no change in meaning. **अपाय** means elision— *viz.* **हतः, घ्नन्ति, घ्नन्तु, अघ्नन्**. Here is elision of letters and not of meaning. **उपजन** means augment *viz.* **लविता, लवितुम्**. Here is only augment of letters and not of meaning. **विकार** means **आदेश** *viz.* **घातयति, घातकः**. Here is only substitution of letters and not of meaning. As there is metathesis, elision, augment on substitution of letters, so should there be change, elision, augment and substitution in meaning. It is not so here. Hence we think that letters have no meaning.

उभयमिदं वर्णेषूक्तम्–अर्थवन्तोऽनर्थका इति च, किमत्र न्याय्यम् ?

Both has been said with regard to letters that they have meaning and that they have not. Which is right here ?

उभयमित्याह

Both, says he.

कुतः ? How ?

स्वभावतः । तद्यथा—समानमीहमानानां चाधीयानानां केचिदर्थैर्युज्यन्ते अपरे न ; न चेदानीं कश्चिदर्थवानिति कृत्वा सर्वैरर्थवद्भिः शक्यं भवितुम्, कश्चिद्वा अनर्थक इति कृत्वा सर्वैरनर्थकैः

By nature. For instance, of those persons who study equally with the same hope (of getting money), some get it and others do not.* Because one gets money, it is not necessary that all have got money and because one has not got money, it is not necessary that all have not got money.

तत्र किमस्माभिः शक्यं कर्तुम् ?

If so, what are we to do here ?

यद्धातुप्रत्ययप्रातिपदिकनिपाता एकवर्णा अर्थवन्तो अतोऽन्येऽनर्थका इति । स्वाभाविकमेतत्

Such single letters as stand as roots, affixes, stems and *nipātas* have meaning and the rest have no meaning. This is quite natural.

कथं य एष भवता वर्णानामर्थवत्तायां हेतुरुपदिष्टः—अर्थवन्तो वर्णा धातुप्रातिपदिकप्रत्ययनिपातानामेकवर्णानामर्थदर्शनाद्वर्णव्यत्यये चार्थान्तरगमनाद्वर्णानुपलब्धौ चानर्थगतेः सङ्घातार्थवत्त्वाच्च इति ? सङ्घातान्तराण्येवैतान्येवंजातीयकानि अर्थान्तरेषु वर्तन्ते, कूपः सूपो यूप इति । यदि हि वर्णव्यत्ययकृतमर्थान्तरगमनं स्यात् भूयिष्ठः कूपार्थः सूपे स्यात्, सूपार्थश्च कूपे, कूपार्थश्च यूपे, यूपार्थश्च कूपे, सूपार्थश्च यूपे, यूपार्थश्च सूपे ; यतस्तु खलु न † किञ्चित्कूपस्य वा सूपे, सूपस्य वा कूपे, कूपस्य वा यूपे, यूपस्य वा

* This sentence is interpreted also thus :—Of those who equally strive after (wealth), some get it and others do not; of those who equally study, some get the desired object and others do not.

† कश्चित् is another reading.

कूपे, सूपस्य वा यूपे, यूपस्य वा सूपे, अतो मन्यामहे सङ्घातान्तराण्येवैतान्येवंजातीयकानि अर्थान्तरेषु वर्तन्ते इति; इदं खल्वपि भवता वर्णानामर्थवत्तां ब्रुवता साधीयोऽनर्थकत्वं द्योतितं—यो हि मन्यते यः कूपे कूपार्थः स ककारस्य, यः सूपे सूपार्थः स सकारस्य, यो यूपे यूपार्थः स यकारस्येति, ऊपशब्दस्त्वस्यानर्थकः स्यात्

What about the reasons enunciated by you to comprehend that letters have meaning—**अर्थवन्तो वर्णाः..सङ्घातार्थवत्त्वाच्च**? The words of the type **कूपः**, **सूपः** and **यूपः** are different letter smaller groups having different meanings. If the change in their meaning is due only to the change of a single letter, the major portion of the meaning of **कूप** should lie in **सूप**, that of **सूप** in **कूप**, that of **कूप** in **यूप**, that of **यूप** in **कूप**, that of **सूप** in **यूप** and that of **यूप** in **सूप**. Since there is nothing of the meaning of **कूप** in **सूप**, that of **सूप** in **कूप**, that of **कूप** in **यूप**, that of **यूप** in **कूप**, that of **सूप** in **यूप** and that of **यूप** in **सूप**, we think that these are different groups having different meanings. Even this has been very well suggested by you that letters have no meaning while proving that letters have meaning. He who thinks that the meaning of **कूप** is in **ककार**, that of **सूप** in **सकार**, and that of **यूप** in **यकार**, has to decide that **ऊप** has no meaning.

तत्रेदमपरिहृतं सङ्घातार्थवत्त्वाच्चेति

There this—**सङ्घातार्थवत्त्वाच्च**—has been left unanswered.

एतस्यापि प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञायां परिहारं वक्ष्यति

Answer for this also will be given later while dealing with **प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञा** *

* The answer is this:— दृष्टो ह्यतदर्थेन गुणेन गुणिनोऽर्थभावः सुराङ्गवत् रथाङ्गवच्च. It is seen that wholes have meaning unconnected with the meaning of the parts, as wine and chariot are unconnected with the quality of their parts.

V

अइउण्, ऋलृक्, एओङ्, ऐऔच्

प्रत्याहारेऽनुबन्धानां कथमज्ग्रहणेषु * न

Why is the non-inclusion of *anubandhas* in the *pratyāhāra* **अच्**?

य एते अक्षु प्रत्याहारार्था अनुबन्धाः क्रियन्ते एतेषामज्ग्रहणेन ग्रहणं कस्मान्न भवति?

Why are not the *anubandhas* (**ण् क् ङ्** and **च्**) which are read in the *sūtras* **अइउण्**, **ऋलृक्**, **एओङ्** and **ऐऔच्** to form **प्रत्याहार**s included under **अच्**?

किं च स्यात्?

What if they are included?

दधि णकारीयति, मधु णकारीयति, इति **इको यणचि** इति यणादेशः प्रसज्येत

इ and **उ** of **दधि** and **मधु** in **दधि णकारीयति** and **मधु णकारीयति** will respectively be replaced by **य्** and **व्** on the strength of the *sūtra* **इको यणचि**.

आचारात्

By *ācāra*.

किमिदमाचारात्?

What is here meant by **आचारात्**?

आचार्याणामुपचारात्। नैतेष्वाचार्या अच्कार्याणि कृतवन्तः

By the application of *Ācārya*. † *Ācārya* has not treated them as **अच्**.

* अक्षु is another reading. It means अच्प्रत्याहारबोधकसूत्रेषु.

† The *Ācārya* here refers to the author of the *sūtra* तृषिमृषिकृशेः काश्यपस्य.

अप्रधानत्वात्

On account of their secondary nature.

अप्रधानत्वाच्च न खल्वप्येतेषां अक्षु प्राधान्येनोपदेशः क्रियते

Since they are secondary here, they are not read in these four *sūtras* primarily.

क तर्हि ?

Where then are they read primarily ?

हल्षु

In the *sūtras* which enable us to form the *pratyāhāra* हल्.

कुत एतत् ?

How is it so understood ?

एषा ह्याचार्यस्य शैली लक्ष्यते, यत्तुल्यजातीयांस्तुल्यजातीयेषु उपदिशति, अचोऽक्षु, हलो हल्षु

This is the procedure of *Ācārya* that he reads the letters of the same family together. The vowels in the *sūtras* forming the *pratyāhāra* अच् and consonants in those forming the *pratyāhāra* हल्.

लोपश्च बलवत्तरः

The elision is stronger.

लोपः खल्वपि तावद्भवति

The elision (by the *sūtra* तस्य लोपः) takes place before (the formation of प्रत्याहार by the *sūtra* आदिरन्त्येन सहेता)

ऊकालोऽजिति वा योगस्तत्कालानां यथा भवेत् ।
अचां ग्रहणमच्कार्यं तेनैषां न भविष्यति ॥

The *sūtra* is split as ऊकालोऽच्, so that the designation अच् may come only to such sounds as have their quantity and so that it may not come to these.

अथवा योगविभागः करिष्यते, ऊकालोऽच्–उ ऊ उ३ इत्येवंकालोऽज्भवति–ततः ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतः–ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतसंज्ञश्च भवति ऊकालोऽच्

Or the *sūtra* is split thus ऊकालोऽच्, meaning that अच् is that which has the quantity of उ, ऊ and उ३ and then ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतः meaning that अच् having ऊकाल get the designation of ह्रस्व, दीर्घ and प्लुत.

एवमपि कुकुट इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति

Even then the designation अच् will come to क्क of कुकुट.

तस्मात् पूर्वोक्त एव परिहारः

Hence the answer has already been given. *

एष एवार्थः

The same is the conclusion.

अपर आह †

Another says.

ह्रस्वादीनां वचनात् प्राग्यावत्तावदेव योगोऽस्तु ।
अच्कार्याणि यथा स्युस्तत्कालेष्वक्षु कार्याणि ॥

Let the *sūtra* be as it is before—ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतः—so that the rules dealing with अच् may operate upon such अच् as have that quantity.

* At the end of ऐऔच् *bhāṣya*.

† This shows that *Mahābhāṣyakāra* commented upon *vārttikas* of different authors, some of which were in *ślōka* form.

VI

अथ किमर्थम् अन्तःस्थानामण्सूपदेशः क्रियते * ?

Now why are the semi-vowels so mentioned as to be operated upon by the *sūtra* **अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः**.

इह सय्ँय्ँयन्ता सव्ँव्ँवत्सरः यल्ँल्ँलोकम् तल्ँल्ँलोकम् इति परसवर्णस्यासिद्धत्वात् अनुस्वारस्यैव द्विर्वचनम् । तत्र परस्य परसवर्णे कृते तस्य ययग्रहणेन ग्रहणात् पूर्वस्यापि परसवर्णो यथा स्यात्

Since, in the examples **सय्ँय्ँयन्ता सव्ँव्ँवत्सरः, यल्ँल्ँलोकम्, तल्ँल्ँलोकम्**, **परसवर्ण** (by the *sūtra* **अनुस्वारस्य ययि परसवर्णः**) is *asiddha*, the doubling will be to the *anusvāra* alone. When the second is made **परसवर्ण** there, the first too may be made **परसवर्ण** taking the second to be **यय्**.

नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम् । वक्ष्यत्येतत्–द्विर्वचने परसवर्णत्वं सिद्धं वक्तव्यम्–इति । यावता सिद्धत्वमुच्यते परसवर्ण एव तावद्भवति

No, this is not the benefit. He is going to say that **परसवर्णत्वं** in the case of **द्विर्वचन** is to be considered **सिद्ध**. Since it is stated **सिद्ध**, **परसवर्णत्व** first takes place.

परसवर्णे तर्हि कृते तस्य यर्ग्रहणेन ग्रहणाद्विर्वचनं यथा स्यात्

If then **परसवर्णत्व** is made, doubling will take place since it may be considered **यर्**.

मा भूद् द्विर्वचनम्

Let there be no doubling.

* *Cf.* किमर्थमणुदित्सवर्णस्य इति णकारेण प्रत्याहारः क्रियते, यत्र अन्तस्था अप्यन्तर्भाव्यन्ते, न पुनश्चकारेण प्रत्याहारः क्रियते (*Pradīpikā*).

अणुदित्सवर्णस्येति कस्मान्न कृतमिति प्रश्नः (*Kāiyaṭa.*)

अणः सुण्ठूपदेशः . . . अण्सु उपदेश इति तु नार्थः (*Nāgēśa*).

ननु च भेदो भवति, सति द्विर्वचने त्रियकारकम्, असति द्विर्वचने द्वियकारकम्
Oh, difference will there be! When there is doubling, there will be three यकारs and when there is no doubling, there will be only two यकारs.

नास्ति भेदः; सत्यपि द्विर्वचने द्वियकारकमेव

No, there is no difference; since even when there is doubling, there are only two यकारs.

कथम्? How?

हलो यमां यमि लोपः इत्येवमेकस्य लोपेन भवितव्यम्

One should be dropped on the operation of the *sūtra* **हलो यमां यमि लोपः**

एवमपि भेदः; सति द्विर्वचने कदाचित् द्वियकारकं, कदाचित् त्रियकारकम्; असति द्वियकारकमेव

Even then there will be difference. When there is doubling, there will be sometimes three *yakāras* and sometimes two *yakāras*. If there is no doubling, there will be only two *yakāras*.

स एष कथं भेदो न स्यात्?

How will there be no such difference?

यदि नित्यो लोपः स्यात्; विभाषा च स लोपः

(It will be so) if the elision is **नित्य**; but it is **विभाषा**.

यथाऽभेदस्तथास्तु

Let it be taken in that way wherein there will be no difference.

अनुवर्तते विभाषा शरोऽचि यद्वारयत्ययं द्वित्वम्

विभाषा follows since he prohibits doubling by the *sūtra* **शरोऽचि.**

यदयं **शरोऽचि** इति द्विर्वचनप्रतिषेधं शास्ति, तत् ज्ञापयत्याचार्योऽनुवर्तते विभाषा इति

Since he prohibits doubling by the *sūtra* **शरोऽचि**, *Ācārya* suggests that **विभाषा** follows.

कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम् ?

On what interpertation will it become **ज्ञापक** ?

नित्ये हि तस्य लोपे प्रतिषेधार्थो न कश्चित् स्यात्

If the *lōpa* is *nitya*, there will be no use of prohibition.

यदि नित्यो लोपः स्यात् प्रतिषेधवचनमनर्थकं स्यात् । अस्त्वत्र द्विर्वचनं, **झरो झरि सवर्णे** इति लोपो भविष्यति । पश्यति त्वाचार्यः विभाषा स लोप इति; ततो द्विर्वचनप्रतिषेधं शास्ति

If the elision is *nitya*, the *sūtra* enjoining prohibition will be of no use. Let there be doubling. Elision takes place by the *sūtra* **झरो झरि सवर्णे.** *Ācārya* sees that the elision is optional and so reads the *sūtra* prohibiting doubling.

नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकम् । नित्येऽपि तस्य लोपे स प्रतिषेधोऽवश्यं वक्तव्यः, यदेतद् **अचो रहाभ्यां** इति द्विर्वचनं लोपापवादः स विज्ञायते

No, this is not a **ज्ञापक**; for the *sūtra* of prohibition need be mentioned even when the elision is *nitya* since the doubling enjoined by the *sūtra* **अचो रहाभ्याम्** is considered to be the **अपवाद** to the **लोप.**

कथम् ? How ?

यर इत्युच्यते, एतावन्तश्च यरः यदुत झरो वा यमो वा । यदि चात्र लोपः स्यात् द्विर्वचनमनर्थकं स्यात्

यरः is said; both **झरः** and **यमः** are **यरः**. If there is elision here, doubling will be of no use.

किं तर्हि तयोर्योगयोरुदाहरणम्?

What then are the examples for those two *sūtras?*

यदकृते द्विर्वचने त्रिव्यञ्जनः संयोगः—प्रत्तम् अवत्तम् आदित्य्यः । इहेदानीं कर्ता हर्ता इति द्विर्वचनसामर्थ्याल्लोपो न भवति । एवमिहापि लोपो न स्यात्—कर्षति वर्षति इति । तस्मान्नित्येऽपि लोपे अवश्यं स प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः

Where, in the absence of doubling, there are three consonants together *viz.* **प्रत्तम् अवत्तम् आदित्य्यः**. Here now in the examples **कर्ता** and **हर्ता** there is no elision on the strength of the enjoining of doubling. So also here in the examples **कर्षति** and **वर्षति** there is no elision. Hence even when the elision is *nitya*, that prohibition should needs be said.

तदेतदत्यन्तं सन्दिग्धं वर्तते आचार्याणां विभाषा अनुवर्तते न वेति

Hence it is extremely doubtful whether **विभाषा** is taken to follow or not.

लण्

अयं णकारो द्विरनुबध्यते पूर्वश्चैव परश्च । तत्र अण्ग्रहणेषु इण्ग्रहणेषु च सन्देहो भवति, पूर्वेण वा स्युः परेण वा इति

This **णकार** is used twice at the end of the *pratyāhāra sūtras* one before and the other after. There in the *sūtras* having **अण्** and **इण्** arises the doubt whether the *pratyāhārā* is with the former **ण्** or with the latter **ण्**.

कतमस्मिंस्तावदण्ग्रहणे सन्देहः ?

In which *sūtra* mentioning **अण्** does the doubt arise ?

ढ्लोपे पूर्वस्य दीर्घोऽणः इति

In the *sūtra* **ढ्लोपे पूर्वस्य दीर्घोऽणः**.

असन्दिग्धं पूर्वेण, न परेण

It is beyond doubt that it is with the former and not with the latter.

कुत एतत् ?

How is it so understood ?

पराभावात्

On account of the absence of those with the latter **ण्**.

न हि ढ्लोपे परेऽणः सन्ति

When there is **ढ्लोप**, there are no letters which are included in the *pratyāhāra* **अण्** with the latter **ण्**.

ननु चायमस्ति आतृढ आवृढ इति !

Oh there is **आतृढः आवृढः** !

एवं तर्हि सामर्थ्यात् पूर्वेण न परेण । यदि हि परेण स्यात् अण्ग्रहणमनर्थकं स्यात्, ढ्लोपे पूर्वस्य दीर्घोऽचः इत्येव ब्रूयात् । अथ वैतदपि न ब्रूयात्, अचो ह्येतद्भवति ह्रस्वो दीर्घः प्लुत इति

If so, by **सामर्थ्य** it is with the former and not with the latter. Had it been with the latter, the mention of **अण्** would have been of no use since he would have read **ढ्लोपे पूर्वस्य दीर्घोऽचः**.

Or he would not have read even अचः since ह्रस्वत्व, दीर्घत्व and प्लुतत्व can belong only to अच्.

अस्मिंस्तर्हि अण्ग्रहणे सन्देहः केऽणः इति

If so, there is doubt in the *sūtra* केऽणः where अण् is found.

असन्दिग्धं पूर्वेण, न परेण

It is, beyond doubt, with the former and not with the latter.

कुत एतत् ?

How is it so understood ?

पराभावात् । न हि के परे अणः सन्ति

On account of the absence of those with the latter ण्. For there are no letters included in the *pratyāhāra* अण् with the latter ण् before the *pratyaya* '*ka*.'

ननु चायमस्ति गोका नौका इति !

Oh there is this गोका नौका !

एवं तर्हि सामर्थ्यात् पूर्वेण न परेण । यदि हि परेण स्याद् अण्ग्रहणमनर्थकं स्यात्, केऽच इत्येव ब्रूयात् । अथ वैतदपि न ब्रूयात्, अचो ह्येतद्भवति ह्रस्वो दीर्घः प्लुत इति

If so by सामर्थ्य it is with the former and not with the latter. Had it been with the latter, the mention of अण् would serve no purpose since he would have read केऽचः. Or he would not have read even अचः since ह्रस्वत्व, दीर्घत्व and प्लुतत्व can belong only to अच्.

अस्मिंस्तर्हि अण्ग्रहणे सन्देहः अणोऽप्रगृह्यस्यानुनासिकः इति

If so, there is doubt in this *sūtra* अणोऽप्रगृह्यस्य अनुनासिकः which contains अण्.

असन्दिग्धं पूर्वेण, न परेण

It is, beyond doubt, with the former and not with the latter.

कुत एतत् ?

How is it so understood ?

पराभावात् । न हि पदान्ताः परेऽणः सन्ति

On account of the absence of those with the latter ण्. There are no letters in the *pratyāhāra* अण् with the latter ण् which are finals of padas.

ननु चायमस्ति कर्तृ, हर्तृ !

Oh there is this कर्तृ, हर्तृ !

एवं तर्हि सामर्थ्यात्पूर्वेण न परेण । यदि हि परेण स्यात् अण्ग्रहणमनर्थकं स्यात् अचोऽप्रगृह्यस्यानुनासिकः इत्येव ब्रूयात् । अथ वैतदपि न ब्रूयात् अच एव हि प्रगृह्या भवन्ति

If so, by सामर्थ्य it is with the former and not with the latter. Had it been with the former, the mention of अण् would serve no purpose since he would have read अचोऽप्रगृह्यस्यानुनासिकः. Or he would not have read even अचः since only vowels can be प्रगृह्यs.

अस्मिंस्तर्हि अण्ग्रहणे सन्देहः उरण् रपर इति

If so, there is doubt in this *sūtra* उरण् रपरः which contains अण् .

असन्दिग्धं पूर्वेण, न परेण

It is, beyond doubt, with the former and not with the latter.

कुत एतत् ?

How is it so understood ?

पराभावात् । न हि उः स्थाने परेऽणः सन्ति

On account of the absence of those with the latter ण्. There are no letters in अण् with the latter ण् which can come as *ādēśas* of ऋ.

ननु चायमस्ति कर्त्रर्थं हर्त्रर्थम् इति !

Oh there is this **कर्त्रर्थं हर्त्रर्थम्** !

किं च स्यात् ?

What if ?

यद्यत्र रपरत्वं स्याद्द्वयो रेफयोः श्रवणं प्रसज्येत

If the रेफ here is followed by रेफ, there is the possibility for two रेफs.

हलो यमां यमि लोपः इत्येवमेकस्यात्र लोपो भविष्यतीति

The elision of one of the two will take place by the *sūtra* **हलो यमां यमि लोपः**.

विभाषा स लोपः । विभाषा श्रवणं प्रसज्येत

That elision is optional. Hence optionally there is the possibility for two रेफs.

अयं तर्हि नित्यो लोपः **रो रि** इति

If so, the elision by the *sūtra* **रो रि** is *nitya*.

पदान्तस्येत्येवं सः

It applies only to that which is at the end of *pada*.

न शक्यः स पदान्तस्येत्येवं विज्ञातुम्, इह हि लोपो न स्यात्—जर्गृधेर्लङ् अजर्घाः, पास्पर्द्धेः, अपास्पाः इति

It is not possible to take it to refer only to the **रेफ** which is **पदान्त**, for, otherwise there will be no elision in **अजर्घाः** (imperfect of **जर्गृध्**), **पास्पर्द्धेः**, **अपास्पाः**

इह तर्हि मातॄणां पितॄणाम् इति रपरत्वं प्रसज्येत

If so, there will be **रपरत्व** in **मातॄणाम्** and **पितॄणाम्**.

आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति नात्र रपरत्वं भवतीति यदयम् **ऋत इद्धातोः** इति धातु-ग्रहणं करोति

The use of *Ācārya* suggests that there is no **रपरत्व** here since he reads the word **धातोः** in the *sūtra* **ऋत इद्धातोः**

कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम्?

How is it to be interpreted to become a **ज्ञापक**?

धातुग्रहणस्यैतत्प्रयोजनम्, इह मा भूत् मातॄणाम् पितॄणाम् इति; यदि चात्र रपरत्वं स्यात् धातुग्रहणमनर्थकं स्यात्। रपरत्वे कृते अनन्त्यत्वादित्वं न भविष्यति। पश्यति त्वाचार्यो नात्र रपरत्वं भवतीति ततो धातुग्रहणं करोति

This is the benefit of the mention of **धातु** that **रपरत्व** may not happen in **मातॄणाम्** and **पितॄणाम्**. If **रपरत्व** is here, **धातुग्रहण** will be of no avail; for after **रपरत्व** is brought in, there will be no **इत्त्व** since there will be no **अन्त्यत्व**. *Ācārya* sees that there is no **रपरत्व** here and hence reads **धातु** in the *sūtra*.

इहापि तर्हि इत्वं न प्राप्नोति—चिकीर्षति जिहीर्षति

If so, there will be no **इत्त्व** here also—in **चिकीर्षति** and **जिहीर्षति**.

मा भूदेवम्; उपधायाश्चेत्येवं भविष्यति

Let it not be so; **इत्त्व** comes there by the *sūtra* **उपधायाश्च**.

इहापि तर्हि प्राप्नोति मातॄणां पितॄणाम् इति । तस्मात् तत्र धातुग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्

If so, it will come here also in **मातॄणाम्** and **पितॄणाम्**. Hence there is the need for the mention of **धातु** in the *sūtra*.

एवं तर्हि सामर्थ्यात्पूर्वेण न परेण । यदि परेण स्याद् अण्ग्रहणमनर्थकं स्यात्, उरज्रपर इत्येव ब्रूयात्

If so, by **सामर्थ्य**, it is with the former and not with the latter. Had it been with the latter, the mention of **अण्** would be of no avail since he would have read **उरज्रपरः**.

अस्मिंस्तर्हि अण्ग्रहणे सन्देहः **अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः** इति

If so, there is doubt in the mention of **अण्** in the *sūtra* **अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः**.

असन्दिग्धं परेण न पूर्वेण

It is, beyond doubt, with the latter and not with the former.

कुत एतत् ?

How is it so understood ?

सवर्णेऽण् तु परं ह्युर्ऋत् *

अण् in the **सवर्णग्राहकसूत्र** is with the latter since there is **ऋत्** in the *sūtra* **उर्ऋत्**.

यदयं उर्ऋत् इत्यृकारे तपरकरणं † करोति तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यः परेण न पूर्वेण इति

Since he reads **ऋ** with **त्** at the end, he suggests that **अण्** here is with the latter and not with the former.

* सवर्णेऽण् तपरं ह्युर्ऋत् is another reading.

† ऋकारं तपरम् is another reading.

इण्ग्रहणेषु तर्हि सन्देहः

There is, then, doubt in the *sūtras* having इण्.

असन्दिग्धं परेण न पूर्वेण

It is, beyond doubt, with the latter and not with the former.

कुत एतत्?

How is it so understood?

य्वोरन्यत्र परेणेण् स्यात्

इण् is with the latter in all places, on account of the mention of य्वोः.

यत्रेच्छति पूर्वेण, संमृद्य ग्रहणं तत्र करोति य्वोः इति । तच्च गुरु भवति

Where he wants it with the former, he combines इ and उ and reads य्वोः. It becomes heavier.

कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम्?

How is it to be understood to serve as ज्ञापक?

तत्र विभक्तिनिर्देशे संमृद्य ग्रहणे अर्धचतस्रो मात्राः, प्रत्याहारग्रहणे पुनस्तिस्रो मात्राः, सोऽयमेवं लघीयसा न्यासेन सिद्धे सति यद्गरीयांसं यत्नमारभते तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यः परेण न पूर्वेण इति

If there is mention of them in combination with case-suffix, there are अर्धचतस्रो मात्राः and if, on the other hand, there is mention through प्रत्याहार, there are only तिस्रो मात्राः. Since *Ācārya* has mentioned so heavily where there is a lighter course, he suggests that इण is with the latter and not with the former.

किं पुनर्वर्णोत्सत्ताविवायं णकारो द्विरनुबध्यते?

How is it that ण् is read twice as **अनुबन्ध** as if there is paucity of letters ?

एतज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यो भवत्येषा परिभाषा **व्याख्यानतो विशेषप्रतिपत्तिर्न हि सन्देहादलक्षणम्** इति

Ācārya suggests from this the **परिभाषा** that a *sūtra* has to be clearly understood from the commentary when it is not clear and it should not be thrown out on that score.

अणुदित्सवर्णं परिहाय पूर्वेणाण्ग्रहणं परेणेण्ग्रहणम् इति व्याख्यास्यामः

We comment that all **अण्**'s except in **अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः** are with the former and (all) **इण्**s are with the latter.

ञमङणनम् – झभञ्

किमर्थमिमौ मुखनासिकावचनावुभावनुबध्येते, न ञकार एवानुबध्यते ?

What for are these two nasals (म् and ञ्) used as **अनुबन्ध**s ? Will not **ञकार** alone do ?

कथं यानि मकारेण प्रत्याहारग्रहणानि **हलो यमां यमि लोपः** इति ?

How will then be formed the *pratyāhāras* with **म्** at the end as in **हलो यमां यमि लोपः** ?

सन्तु ञकारेण हलो यञां यञि लोपः इति

Let them be with **ञकार** thus—**हलो यञां यञि लोपः**.

नैवं शक्यम्, झकारभकारपरयोरपि झकारभकारयोर्लोपः प्रसज्येत

This is not possible since the possibility will arise for the elision of **झ्** and **भ्** when they are followed by **झ्** and **भ्**.

न झकारभकारौ झकारभकारपरौ स्तः

झ् and भ् are not followed by झ् and भ्.

कथं पुमः खय्यम्परे इति ?

How will then the *sūtra* पुमः खय्यम्परे be ?

एतदप्यस्तु ञकारेण पुमः खय्यञ्परे इति ।

Let this also be with the *anubandha* ञ् thus—पुमः खय्यञ्परे

नैवं शक्यम् । झकारभकारपरेऽपि हि खयि रुः प्रसज्येत

This is not possible since the possibility of रु will arise even when खय् is followed by झ् and भ्.

न झकारभकारपरः खय् अस्ति

There is no खय् which is followed by झ् and भ्.

कथं ङमो ह्रस्वादचि ङमुण्नित्यम् इति ?

How will then the *sūtra* ङमो ह्रस्वादचि ङमुण्नित्यम् be?

एतदप्यस्तु ञकारेण ङञो ह्रस्वादचि ङञुण्नित्यम् इति

Let this be with the *anubandha* ञ् thus—ङञो ह्रस्वादचि ङञुण्नित्यम्

नैवं शक्यम्; झकारभकारयोरपि हि पदान्तयोः झकारभकारावागमौ स्याताम्

This is not possible since the final झ् and भ् will get झ् and भ् as augments.

न झकारभकारौ पदान्तौ स्तः

There are no final झ् and भ्.

एवमपि पञ्चागमाः त्रय आगमिनः वैषम्यात्सङ्ख्यातानुदेशो न प्राप्नोतिः

Even then, there are five आगमs and three आगमिन्s and so there will be difficulty in the operation of यथासंख्यशास्त्र.

सन्तु तावद्येषामागमानामागमिनः सन्ति; झकारभकारौ पदान्तौ न स्त इति कृत्वा आगमावपि न भविष्यतः

Let such be the आगमs which have आगमिन्s. Since झ् and भ् are not final, they do not get आगमs.

अथ किमिदमक्षरमिति ? *

Now what is meant here by अक्षरम् ?

अक्षरं न क्षरं विद्यात्

अक्षरं should be taken to mean न क्षरम्.

न क्षीयते न क्षरतीति वा अक्षरम्

It should be derived in either of the two ways—न क्षीयते and न क्षरति.

अश्नोतेर्वा सरोऽक्षरम्

Or it may be derived from the root अश् with the suffix सर.

अश्नोतेर्वा पुनरयमौणादिकः सरन् प्रत्ययः । अश्नुते इत्यक्षरम्

The root अश् is followed by the suffix सरन्. अक्षरम् is derived from the root अश्.

* Since the 14 *sūtras* are called अक्षरसमाम्नायः, he gives the meaning of अक्षर.

वर्णं वाहुः पूर्वसूत्रे *

In earlier works अक्षर was explained as letter.

अथवा पूर्वसूत्रे वर्णस्य अक्षरमिति संज्ञा क्रियते

Or in earlier works वर्ण is given the designation अक्षर.

किमर्थमुपदिश्यते ?

What for are those read ?

अथ किमर्थमुपदेशः क्रियते ?

Then what for is their mention made ?

वर्णज्ञानं वाग्विषयो यत्र च ब्रह्म वर्तते ।
तदर्थमिष्टबुद्ध्यर्थं लघ्वर्थं चोपदिश्यते ॥ †

* This suggests that there was a *Vyākaraṇa* in the form of *sūtras* before *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. There are many places where *Mahābhāṣyakāra* makes mention of पूर्वसूत्र *Cf.* पूर्वसूत्रेषु च येऽनुबन्धाः न तैरिहेत्कार्याणि क्रियन्ते (VII, 1, 18) etc.

† यदेवोक्तं वार्त्तिककारेण वृत्तिसमवायार्थ उपदेश इति, तदेव श्लोकवार्त्तिककारोऽप्याह (*Pradipikā*.) From this it is clear that the two verses—

अक्षरं न क्षरं विद्यादश्नोतेर्वा सरोऽक्षरम् ।
वर्णं वाहुः पूर्वसूत्रे किमर्थमुपदिश्यते ॥
वर्णज्ञानं वाग्विषयो यत्र च ब्रह्म वर्तते ।
तदर्थमिष्टबुद्ध्यर्थं लघ्वर्थं चोपदिश्यते ॥

are the *vārttikas* of a श्लोकवार्त्तिककार other than *Kātyāyana*.

सोऽयमक्षरसमाम्नायो वाक्समाम्नायः पुष्पितः फलितः चन्द्रतारकवत्प्रतिमण्डितो वेदितव्यो ब्रह्मराशिः, सर्ववेदपुण्यफलावाप्तिश्चास्य ज्ञाने भवति, मातापितरौ चास्य स्वर्गे लोके महीयेते

The *śāstra* through which the knowledge of वर्ण is got has for its subject वाक् where resides ब्रह्मन्. For its sake, for knowing the needed ones and for the sake of simplicity is it (*akṣara-samāmnāya*) read. This collection of letters which is the collection of speech should be taken to be ब्रह्मराशि when it blossoms, fructifies and shines like moon and stars. Its knowledge leads one to realise the fruits realised by the study of all Vēdas and his parents thrive well in Heaven.

प्रत्याहाराह्निकम् ends.

3. वृद्ध्याह्निकम्

In this *āhnika* two *sūtras*, *vṛddhirādāic* and *ikōguṇavṛddhī* are discussed at length. This is called *vṛddhyāhnika* since the first word of the first *sūtra* is *vṛddhi*.

वृद्धिरादैच् *

Here *eight* topics are dealt with. They are (1) why was the *sūtra* not read as वृद्धिरादैक् ? (2) is वृद्धिरादैच् *uddēśya* or आदैच् alone ? (3) need for the *adhikārasūtra* अथ संज्ञा at the beginning. (4) is this *sūtra saṁjñāvidhāyaka* or *śabdasādhutvādividhāyaka ?* (5) of the two वृद्धिः and आदैच्, which is संज्ञा and which is संज्ञिन् ? (6) अन्योन्याश्रयतावारणम् (7) the need for the word प्रत्येकम् in this *sūtra* and the next and (8) what is the need for तपरकरण in आत् of आदैच् ?

I

कुत्वं † कस्मान्न भवति, चोः कुः पदस्येति ? ‡

Why is not the final च् of the word आदैच् replaced by क् as is sanctioned by the *sūtra* चोः कुः ?

* That this *sūtra* consists of 2 words वृद्धिः and आदैच् is known from the word अनयोः in the statement of *Bhāṣyakāra* later on in this *sūtra* कृतमनयोस्साधुत्वम्. That it may be considered to be made up of three words is known from the *bhāṣya* वृद्धिः आत् ऐच् in the first *āhnika*. When आदैच् is one word, it has not taken the form आदैचम् since *samāsāntavidhi* is considered to be *anitya*.

† कुत्वं here does not refer to all the five letters of कवर्ग, but to क alone.

‡ If one thinks that this point does not arise since *Pāṇini's sūtras* are intended for the *lāukika* and *vāidika* words and *ādāic* is neither, he should be given this answer :—Since the *saṁjñā, vṛddhi*, which is enjoined here may be considered to be *lāukika* and its relation to *saṁjñin* is considered to be *nitya*, the *saṁjñī ādāic* should also be considered a *lāukika* word. Or it may be considered to be the *anukaraṇa* of what is found in the *pratyāhāra*. Those who uphold the theory त्रयी शब्दानां प्रवृत्तिः should take आदैच् to be *jātivācaka*.

भत्वात्

Because it is taken to be *bha* (and not *pada*).

कथं भसंज्ञा ?

On what authority is it *bha* ?

अयस्मयादीनि छन्दसि इति

By the *sūtra* **अयस्मयादीनि छन्दसि.**

छन्दसीत्युच्यते, न चेदं छन्दः

The word *chandasi* is found there and this is not *chandas.*

छन्दोवत्सूत्राणि भवन्ति *

Vyākaraṇa sūtras are treated like Vēdic expressions.

यदि भसंज्ञा **वृद्धिरादैजदेङ्गुण** इति जश्त्वमपि न प्राप्नोति

If it is *bha* and not *pada*, it will not change to ज् as is found in **वृद्धिरादैजदेङ्गुणः.**

उभयसंज्ञान्यपि छन्दांसि दृश्यन्ते, तद्यथा—**स सुष्टुभा स ऋक्वता गणेन** (R. V. IV, 50, 5) पदत्वात् कुत्वं भत्वाज्जश्त्वं न भवति ; एवमिहापि पदत्वाज्जश्त्वं भत्वात्कुत्वं न भविष्यति

Vēdic expressions are found to have both the *saṁjñas viz.* **स सुष्टुभा स ऋक्वता गणेन**, where च् is changed to क् on account of *pada-saṁjñā* and क् is not changed to ग् on account of *bhasaṁjñā* in the word **ऋक्वता.** Similarly here च् is changed to ज् on account of *pada-saṁjñā* and it is not changed to क् on account of *bha-saṁjñā.*

* Since *Vyākaraṇa* is said to be an important limb of Vēdas in the first *āhnika*, it may be treated like Vēdas. The reason for not having read ऐच् as ऐक् may be said to be for the sake of clearness. ऐच् alone can make the reader understand easily that *Pāṇini* refers to the *pratyāhāra.*

II

किं पुनरिदं तद्भावितग्रहणं, वृद्धिरित्येवं ये आकारैकारौकारा भाव्यन्ते तेषां ग्रहणम्, आहोस्विदादैज्मात्रस्य

Is it in this *sūtra tadbhāvitagrahaṇa** (*i.e.*) reference to the letters *ā*, *āi* and *āu* got by the *sūtras* enjoining *vṛddhi* or reference to the letters *ā*, *āi* and *āu* alone. (In other words, does the designation *vṛddhi* refer to only those letters *ā*, *ai* *āu* qualified by the term *vṛddhi* or to all *ā*, *āi and āu ?*)

किं चातः ?

What if (whether it is *tadbhāvitagrahaṇa* or no) ?

यदि तद्भावितग्रहणं **शालीयः मालीय** इति वृद्धलक्षणश्छो न प्राप्नोति । आम्रमयम् शालमयम्—वृद्धलक्षणो मयण् न प्राप्नोति, आम्रगुप्तायनिः शालगुप्तायनिः—वृद्धलक्षणः फिञ् न प्राप्नोति ।

If it is *tadbhāvitagrahaṇa*, the *pratyaya* '*cha*' by the *sūtra vṛddhāt chaḥ* cannot be suffixed to the words **शाला** and **माला** to get the forms **शालीयः** and **मालीयः**; the *pratyaya* '*mayaṭ*' by the *sūtra* '*nityam vṛddhaśarādibhyaḥ*' cannot be suffixed to the words **आम्र** and **शाल** to get the forms **आम्रमयम्** and **शालमयम्**, and the *pratyaya* '*phiñ*' by the *sūtra* '*udīcām vṛddhāt agōtrāt*' to the words **आम्रगुप्त** and **शालगुप्त** to get the forms **आम्रगुप्तायनिः** and **शालगुप्तायनिः**

अथ आदैज्मात्रस्य ग्रहणं सर्वो भासः सर्वभास इति **उत्तरपदवृद्धौ सर्वं च** इत्येष विधिः प्राप्नोति, इह च तावती भार्या यस्य तावद्भार्यः यावद्भार्यः **वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य** . . . इति पुंवद्भावप्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोति

* In *tadbhāvitagrahaṇa* there is *āvṛtti* of the word *vṛddhi*. The reason for this doubt is both *tadbhāvitagrahaṇa* and *atadbhāvitagrahaṇa* are found here. Where elision is enjoined, there is *atadbhāvitagrahaṇa* in *lōpa* and *tadbhāvitagrahaṇa* in *luk*, *lup* etc.

If, on the other hand, there is reference only to *ā*, *āi* and *āu*, the *sūtra* '*uttarapadavṛddhāu sarvañca*'* will be applied to the word **सर्वभास** which is the compound of **सर्वो भासः** (when the word will have its final syllable *udātta*), and when **तावती भार्या यस्य, यावती भार्या यस्य** are compounded, there will be no *puṁvadbhāva* so that the forms **तावद्भार्यः**, and **यावद्भार्यः** cannot be formed, (but they would become **तावतीभार्यः** and **यावतीभार्यः**, which forms are not current in the world).

अस्तु तर्हि आदैज्मात्रस्य ग्रहणम्

In that case, let the reference be only to *ā*, *āi* and *āu*.

ननु चोक्तं सर्वो भासः सर्वभास इति **उत्तरपदवृद्धौ सर्वं च** इत्येष विधिः प्राप्नोति ?

Has it not been said that, in that case, the *sūtra* **उत्तरपदवृद्धौ** . . . will apply to **सर्वभास** which is the compound of **सर्वो भासः** ?

नैष दोषः, नैवं विज्ञायते उत्तरपदस्य वृद्धिः उत्तरपदवृद्धिः उत्तरपदवृद्धाविति

It is no harm; the word **उत्तरपदवृद्धौ** is not the locative of **उत्तरपदवृद्धिः**, the compound of **उत्तरपदस्य वृद्धिः**.

कथं तर्हि ? How then ?

उत्तरपदस्य इत्येवं प्रकृत्य या वृद्धिः तद्वत्युत्तरपदे इत्येवमेतद्विज्ञायते । अवश्यं चैतदेवं विज्ञेयम्, तद्भावितग्रहणे सत्यपि इह प्रसज्येत सर्वः कारकः सर्वकारक इति

It is understood in this way:— **उत्तरपदस्य इत्येवं प्रकृत्य या वृद्धिः तद्वत्युत्तरपदे**. This should be interpreted this way, for, otherwise, even granting *tadbhāvitagrahaṇa* that defect will appear even in the word **सर्वकारकः**, the compound of **सर्वः कारकः**.

* *Bhaṭṭōjidikṣit's vṛtti*—उत्तरपदस्येत्यधिकृत्य या वृद्धिर्विहिता तद्वत्युत्तरपदे परे सर्वशब्दो दिक्शब्दाश्च अन्तोदात्ता भवन्ति; सर्वपाञ्चालकः ; अधिकारग्रहणं किम् ? सर्वभासः.

यदप्युच्यते इह तावती भार्या यस्य तावद्भार्यः यावद्भार्यः इति च **वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य** . . . इति पुंवद्भावप्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोतीति, नैष दोषः ; नैवं विज्ञायते वृद्धेर्निमित्तं वृद्धिनिमित्तं, वृद्धिनिमित्तस्येति

And the other point that was raised that *puṁvadbhāva-pratiṣēdha* will happen by the *sūtra* '*vṛddhinimittasya* . . .' in the case of **तावद्भार्यः**, the compound of **तावती भार्या यस्य** and **यावद्भार्यः** cannot stand, for the word **वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य** is not taken to be the genitive of **वृद्धिनिमित्तम्**, the compound of **वृद्धेर्निमित्तम्**.

कथं तर्हि ? How then ?

वृद्धेर्निमित्तं यस्मिन्सोऽयं वृद्धिनिमित्तः वृद्धिनिमित्तस्येति
It is the genitive of **वृद्धिनिमित्त**, the compound of **वृद्धेर्निमित्तम् यस्मिन् सः**.

किं च वृद्धेर्निमित्तम् ?

What is the *nimitta* of *vṛddhi* ?

योऽसौ ककारो, ञकारो णकारो वा

Kakāra, ñakāra or *ṇakāra.*

अथवा यः कृत्स्नायाः वृद्धेर्निमित्तम्

Or that which is the *nimitta* of all *vṛddhi.*

कश्च कृत्स्नायाः वृद्धेर्निमित्तम् ?

What is the *nimitta* of all *vṛddhi* ?

यस्त्रयाणामाकारैकारौकाराणाम्

That which is (the *nimitta*) of *ā*, *āi* and *āu.*
Since there is no *vārttika* in the first two topics, it is clear that they are *Mahābhāṣyakāra's* own.

III

संज्ञाधिकारः संज्ञासंप्रत्ययार्थः

Saṁjñādhikārasūtra for clear conception of *saṁjñā*.

अथ संज्ञा इत्येवं प्रकृत्य वृद्ध्यादयः शब्दाः पठितव्याः ; किं प्रयोजनम् ? संज्ञासंप्रत्ययार्थः, वृद्ध्यादीनां शब्दानां संज्ञा इत्येष संप्रत्ययो यथा स्यात्.

There should be a *sūtra* अथ संज्ञा before *vrddhi* etc. What for ? *Saṁjñāsampratyayārthaḥ*, so that there may be clear conception that the words like *vrddhi* are *saṁjñās*.

इतरथा ह्यसंप्रत्ययो यथा लोके

For otherwise, absence of clear conception, as in the world.

अक्रियमाणे हि संज्ञाधिकारे वृद्ध्यादीनां संज्ञेत्येष संप्रत्ययो न स्यात् । इदमिदानीं बहुसूत्रमनर्थकं स्यात् । अनर्थकमित्याह । कथम् ? । यथा लोके, लोके ह्यर्थवन्ति चानर्थकानि च वाक्यानि * दृश्यन्ते । अर्थवन्ति तावत्—देवदत्त गामभ्याज शुक्लां दण्डेन, देवदत्त गामभ्याज कृष्णाम् इति ; अनर्थकानि–दश दाडिमानि षडपूपाः कुण्डमजाजिनं पललपिण्डः अधरोरुकमेतत्कुमार्याः स्फैयकृतस्य पिता प्रतिशीनः इति

If *saṁjñādhikāra* is not done, one cannot have a clear conception of *vrddhi* etc. to be *saṁjñā*. Then many chapters may become meaningless. Meaningless, says he ; how ? As is in the world. There are sentences in the world both with meaning and without meaning : those that have meaning are at first, देवदत्त . . . कृष्णाम् ; those that are meaningless are दश . . . प्रतिशीनः.

* Note that the word वाक्यानि is used in the sense of groups of words whether they make a sense or no.

संज्ञासंज्ञ्यसंदेहश्च

Removal of the doubt of *saṁjñā* and *saṁjñin*.

क्रियमाणेऽपि संज्ञाधिकारे संज्ञासंज्ञिनोरसन्देहो वक्तव्यः । कुतो ह्येतत् वृद्धिशब्दः संज्ञा, आदैचः संज्ञिन इति ; न पुनरादैचः संज्ञा, वृद्धिशब्दः संज्ञी इति

Even when the *saṁjñādhikārasūtra* is read, doubt should be cleared as to what is *saṁjñā* and what is *saṁjñin*. For how does one know that the word *vṛddhi* is *saṁjñā* and *ā*, *āi* and *āu* are *saṁjñins* and not *ā*, *āi* and *āu* are *saṁjñās* and *vṛddhi*, *saṁjñin* ?

यत्तावदुच्यते संज्ञाधिकारः कर्तव्यः संज्ञासंप्रत्ययार्थः इति, न कर्तव्यः

The first point raised that **संज्ञाधिकारः कर्तव्यः संज्ञासंप्रत्ययार्थः** need not be.

आचार्याचारात् संज्ञासिद्धिः

The conception of *saṁjñā* from *Ācārya's* use.

आचार्याचारात् संज्ञासिद्धिर्भविष्यति

One can have a definite conception of what is *saṁjñā* from *Ācārya's* using them.

किमिदमाचार्याचारादिति ?

What is here the meaning of **आचार्याचारात्** ?

आचार्याणामुपचारात्

By the *vyavahāra* of *Ācārya*.

यथा लौकिकवैदिकेषु

As is found in those related to *lōka* and *vēda*.

तद्यथा लौकिकेषु वैदिकेषु च कृतान्तेषु । लोके तावन्मातापितरौ पुत्रस्य जातस्य संवृतेऽवकाशे नाम कुर्वाते देवदत्तो यज्ञदत्त इति । तयोरुपचारादन्येऽपि जानन्ति इयमस्य संज्ञेति । वेदेऽपि याज्ञिकाः * संज्ञां कुर्वन्ति स्फ्यो यूपश्चषाल इति । तत्रभवतामुपचारादन्येऽपि जानन्ति इयमस्य संज्ञेति

It is like the happenings in the world and in the *vēdas*. First in the world the parents name the child that is born as *Dēvadatta*, *Yajñadatta* in a closed room and by their use, others understand that it is his name. In the *vēdas* too *yājñikas* name sacrificial utensils as *sphya*, *yūpa*, *caṣāla* etc. and from the use of those words made by those venerable men, others understand them to be their respective **संज्ञा**.

एवमिहापि ; इहैव तावत् केचिद्व्याचक्षाणा आहुः वृद्धिशब्दः संज्ञा, आदैचः संज्ञिन इति ; अपरे पुनः **सिचि वृद्धिः**...इत्युक्त्वा आकारैकारौकारानुदाहरन्ति ; तेन मन्यामहे यया प्रत्याय्यन्ते सा संज्ञा, ये प्रतीयन्ते ते संज्ञिन इति

So also here ; Even here some comment that the word *vṛddhi* is *saṁjñā* and *ā*, *āi* and *āu are saṁjñins* ; others read the *sūtra* **सिचि वृद्धिः** . . . and illustrate it with *ā*, *āi* and *āu* ; thence do we understand that with which another is denoted is *saṁjñā* and those that are denoted are *saṁjñins*.

यदप्युच्यते क्रियमाणेऽपि संज्ञाधिकारे संज्ञासंज्ञिनोरसन्देहो वक्तव्य इति

As regards the statement **क्रियमाणेऽपि . . . वक्तव्यः**

संज्ञासंज्ञ्यसन्देहश्च

There is no doubt about **संज्ञा** and **संज्ञिन्**.

* याज्ञिकाः = यज्ञकाण्डद्रष्टारः ऋषयः (*Uddyōta*)

संज्ञासंज्ञिनोश्च असन्देहः सिद्धः ; कुतः? आचार्याचारादेव, उक्त आचार्याचारः

Evidently there is no doubt with regard to संज्ञा and संज्ञिन्. How? From *Ācārya's ācāra*; *ācāryācāra* has been explained.

अनाकृतिः

That which has no *ākṛti*.

अथवा अनाकृतिः संज्ञा, आकृतिमन्तः संज्ञिनः । लोकेऽपि ह्याकृतिमतो मांसपिण्डस्य देवदत्त इति संज्ञा क्रियते

Or *saṁjñā* is that which has no *ākṛti* and *saṁjñins* are those which have *ākṛti*. Even in the world the name *Dēvadatta* is given to the mass of flesh having *ākṛti*.*

Since it is not easy here to decide which is *ākṛtimān* and which is *anākṛtimān*, *Vārttikakāra* gives another reason thus:—

लिङ्गेन वा

Or with particular distinguishing mark.

अथवा किंचिल्लिङ्गमासज्य वक्ष्यामि इत्थंलिङ्गा संज्ञेति ; वृद्धिशब्दे च तल्लिङ्गं करिष्यते, नादैच्छब्दे

Or for using a particular distinguishing mark, I shall say that *saṁjñā* is that which has a particular mark; and that mark is added to *vṛddhi* and not to *ādāic*.

इदं तावदयुक्तम्, यदुच्यते आचार्याचारादिति

The statement *ācāryācārāt* is inappropriate.

* *Ākṛti* though generally means *jāti* here means *manyness*; hence *anākṛti* means *oneness*.

किमत्रायुक्तम् ?

How is it here inappropriate ?

तमेवोपालभ्य अगमकं ते सूत्रमिति, तस्यैव पुनः प्रमाणीकरणमित्येतदयुक्तम्, अपरितुष्यन् खल्वपि भवाननेन परिहारेण **अनाकृतिर्लिङ्गेन वा** इत्याह

Having found fault with him that his *sūtra* is not clear it is inappropriate to take his *sūtra* as the authority. Only not being satisfied with it have you given other reasons *anākṛtiḥ liṅgēna vā.*

तच्चापि वक्तव्यम्

That distinguishing mark will have to be mentioned.

यद्यप्येतदुच्यते, अथवैतर्हि इत्संज्ञा न वक्तव्या, लोपश्च न वक्तव्यः, संज्ञालिङ्गमनुबन्धेषु करिष्यते । न च संज्ञाया निवृत्तिरुच्यते । स्वभावतः संज्ञा संज्ञिनं प्रत्याय्य स्वयं निवर्तते,* तेनानुबन्धानामपि निवृत्तिर्भविष्यति

If it is said, then there is no need for enjoining *it-saṁjñā* and its elision. The distinguishing mark is attached to *anubandhas* (found in roots etc.) and no *sūtra* enjoining its disappearance need be said; as the *saṁjñā* enabling us to understand the *saṁjñin* disappears of its own accord, so also the *anubandhas* disappear.

सिध्यत्येवम्; अपाणिनीयं तु भवति; यथान्यासमेवास्तु

The desired object is thus accomplished. But it goes against *Pāṇini's* plan. Let the *sūtras* remain as they are.

* संज्ञाः संज्ञिनः प्रत्याय्य निवर्तन्ते in another reading.

ननु चोक्तम् संज्ञाधिकारः संज्ञासंप्रत्ययार्थः इतरथा ह्यसंप्रत्ययो यथा लोके इति

Has it not been said that *saṁjñādhikāra* is for clear conception of *saṁjñā* and otherwise there will be no clear conception, as is found in the world?

न च यथा लोके तथा व्याकरणे । प्रमाणभूत आचार्यो दर्भपवित्रपाणिः शुचाववकाशे प्राङ्मुख उपविश्य महता प्रयत्नेन सूत्राणि प्रणयति स्म । तत्राशक्यं वर्णेनाप्यनर्थकेन भवितुं । किं पुनरियता सूत्रेण ?

The same is not the case in grammar as is in the world. The *Ācārya* who is an authority for us composed these *sūtras* with great effort, having seated himself in a clean place with face turned east and with a ring made of kuśa grass worn on his fourth finger. Not even a single letter there can be found to be meaningless. What about this whole *sūtra*?

किमतः ? What from that?

यदशक्यम्, अतः संज्ञासंज्ञिनावेव

Since it is not possible (even for a letter to be *anarthaka*), they are *saṁjñā* and *samjñin*.

IV

कुतो नु खल्वेतत् संज्ञासंज्ञिनावेवेति, न पुनः साध्वनुशासने अस्मिन् शास्त्रे साधुत्वमनेन क्रियते ?

How is it that it is decided that they are *saṁjñā* and *samjñin* and not that they are decided to be correct from this *śāstra* intended to decide the correctness of words?

कृतमनयोस्साधुत्वम्

The correctness of these two* has been ascertained.

कथम्? How?

वृधिरस्मा अविशेषेणोपदिष्टः प्रकृतिपाठे, तस्मात् क्तिन्प्रत्ययः। आदैचोऽप्यक्षर-समाम्नाये उपदिष्टाः

The root *vṛdh* is read in *prakṛtipāṭha* and the *pratyaya* '*ktin*' is suffixed to it. *Āt* and *āic* are read in *Māhēśvarasūtras*.†

प्रयोगनियमार्थं तर्हीदं स्यात्—वृद्धिशब्दात्परे आदैचः प्रयोक्तव्या इति

Let then this be to decide the order of words that *ādāicaḥ* should be used after the word *vṛddhiḥ*.

नेह प्रयोगनियम आरभ्यते‡

The restriction of the order of words is not commenced here.

किं तर्हि? What then?

संस्कृत्य संस्कृत्य पदान्युत्सृज्यन्ते तेषां यथेष्टमभिसंबन्धो भवति, तद्यथा आहर पात्रम्, पात्रमाहर इति

Words are formed here. They may be connected in any way one likes, as in *āhara pātram* and *pātram āhara*.

* Two refers to *vṛddhiḥ* and *ādāic*.

† This sentence means that the letters denoted by *āt* and *āic* are read or comprahended in *Māhēśvarasūtras*:—अइउण् and ऐऔच्

‡ This clearly shows that *Pāṇini* does not deal with syntax but only with Phonology and Morphology.

आदेशास्तर्हि इमे स्युः, वृद्धिशब्दस्य आदैच आदेशाः

Then may these be *ādēśas*; *ādāicaḥ* are the *ādēśas* of the word *vṛddhiḥ*.

षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टस्यादेशा उच्यन्ते, न चात्र षष्ठीं पश्यामः

Ādēśas are for it that is in the sixth case (explicit or implied). We do not see here the sixth case.

आगमास्तर्हीमे स्युः, वृद्धिशब्दस्यादैच आगमाः

Then may these be augments; *ādāicaḥ* are the augments of the word *vṛddhiḥ*.

आगमा अपि षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टस्यैवोच्यन्ते, लिङ्गेन च। न चात्र षष्ठीं न खल्वप्यागमलिङ्गं पश्यामः

Āgamas also are for it that is in the sixth case or they are denoted to be such by some distinguishing mark. We do not see here either the sixth case or the *āgamaliṅga*.

इदं * खल्वपि भूयः सामानाधिकरण्यमेकविभक्तिकत्वं च; द्वयोश्चैतद्भवति

Sāmānādhikaraṇya and *ēkavibhaktikatva* are here; this happens only in two cases.

कयोः?

In which two cases?

विशेषणविशेष्ययोर्वा संज्ञासंज्ञिनोर्वा

In the cases wherein they are the word qualified and the qualifying word or *saṁjñā* and *saṁjñin*.

* इदम् = अत्र cf इदमहमसुमवबाध (शतपथम् 1–3–5–7).

तत्रैतत्स्याद्विशेषणविशेष्ये इति

Of the two, let this be the case of *viśēṣaṇa* and *viśēṣya.*

तच्च न, द्वयोर्हि प्रतीतपदार्थकयोर्लोके विशेषणविशेष्यभावो भवति । न चादैच्छब्दः प्रतीतपदार्थकः । तस्मात् संज्ञासंज्ञिनावेव

No, it is not; for *viśēṣaṇa-viśēṣya-bhāva* happens in the world only in the case of two whose meaning is definitely known. Here the meaning of *ādāic* is not clear. Hence they are *saṁjñā* and *saṁjñin.*

V

तत्र त्वेतावान् सन्देहः—कः संज्ञी का संज्ञेति

There, it is only this doubt, which is *saṁjñin* and which is *saṁjñā.*

स चापि क सन्देहः?

Where then does that doubt arise?

यत्रोभे समानाक्षरे । यत्र त्वन्यतरल्लघु सा संज्ञा, यद्गुरु स संज्ञी

Where both have the same number of syllables. Where, on the other hand, one has smaller number of syllables and another larger number of syllables, the former is *saṁjñā* and the latter is *saṁjñin.*

कुत एतत्?

Wherefrom is this?

लघ्वर्थं हि संज्ञाकरणम्!

For indeed it is for brevity that *saṁjñas* are made!

तत्राप्ययं नावश्यं गुरुलघुतामेवोपलक्षयितुमर्हति

There too it does not invariably signify the *gurutā* and *laghutā*.

किं तर्हि ? What then ?

अनाकृतितामपि । अनाकृतिः संज्ञा, आकृतिमन्तः संज्ञिनः, लोकेऽपि ह्याकृतिमतो मांसपिण्डस्य देवदत्त इति संज्ञा क्रियते

The state of being without *ākṛti* also. That which has no *ākṛti* is *saṁjñā* and those that have *ākṛti* are *saṁjñins*. In the world too the name *Dēvadatta* is given to the mass of flesh which has *ākṛti*.

अथवा आवर्तिन्यः संज्ञा भवन्ति । वृद्धिशब्दश्चावर्तते, नादैच्छब्दः । तद्यथा इतरत्रापि देवदत्तशब्दः आवर्तते, न मांसपिण्डः

Or those which are repeated are *saṁjñās*. The word *vṛddhi* is repeated and not *ādāic*. The same is the case elsewhere also—the word *Dēvadattaḥ* is repeated and not the mass of flesh.

अथवा पूर्वोच्चारितः संज्ञी, परोच्चारिता संज्ञा

Or the first-mentioned is *saṁjñin* and the next-mentioned is *saṁjñā*.

कुत एतत् ?
Whence is this ?

सतो हि कार्यिणः कार्येण भवितव्यम्, तद्यथा इतरत्रापि सतो मांसपिण्डस्य देवदत्त इति संज्ञा क्रियते

For operation comes only when there is an operator. The same is seen even elsewhere—the name *Dēvadattaḥ* is given only to the existing mass of flesh.

कथं वृद्धिरादैजिति ?

Then how is it *vṛddhirādāic*? (in other words, why is the order inverted here ?)

एतदेकमाचार्यस्य मङ्गलार्थं मृष्यताम् । माङ्गलिक आचार्यो महतः शास्त्रौघस्य मङ्गलार्थं वृद्धिशब्दमादितः प्रयुङ्क्ते । मङ्गलादीनि हि शास्त्राणि प्रथन्ते वीरपुरुषकाणि भवन्त्यायुष्मत्पुरुषकाणि चाध्येतारश्च वृद्धियुक्ता यथा स्युरिति * । सर्वत्रैव हि व्याकरणे पूर्वोच्चारितः संज्ञी, परोच्चारिता संज्ञा, **अदेङ्गुणः** इति यथा

This one used by *Ācārya* for the sake of *maṅgala* may be passed over. *Ācārya*, eager of *maṅgala*, used at the commencement, the word *vṛddhiḥ* to serve as *maṅgala* for his great work; for, only such works have *maṅgala* at the commencement thrive well, making the readers strong, long-lived and prosperous. In the whole *vyākaraṇa*, the first mentioned is *saṁjñin* and the next mentioned is *saṁjñā* cf. *adēṅ guṇaḥ*.

Having definitely mentioned the criterion to decide which is *saṁjñā* and which is *saṁjñin*, he reopens the topic of *saṁjñādhikāra* which he closed by saying **न च यथा लोके तथा व्याकरणे.**

* *Cf.* माङ्गलिक आचार्यो महतः शास्त्रौघस्य मङ्गलार्थं वकारमागमं प्रयुङ्क्ते । मङ्गलादीनि मङ्गलमध्यानि मङ्गलान्तानि हि शास्त्राणि प्रथन्ते वीरपुरुषकाणि च भवन्ति आयुष्मत्पुरुषाणि चाध्येतारश्च मङ्गलयुक्ता यथा स्युः (*Bhāṣya* under भूवादयो धातवः I-3-1) एवं सूत्रकारेणापि विष्णुवाचकाकारस्य द्विरुच्चारणात् द्विः विष्णुस्मरणरूपं मङ्गलमाचरितम् किञ्च 'आकारो वै सर्वा वाक् सैषा स्पर्शोष्मभिर्व्यज्यमाना नानारूपा भवति' इति श्रुतेः आकारस्य सर्वशब्दप्रकृतित्वात् 'अ' इति 'ब्रह्म' इति शब्दब्रह्मरूपत्वश्रवणाच्च महामङ्गलार्थता । वार्त्तिककृतापि 'भगवतः पाणिनेः सिद्धम्' इति सिद्धशब्दोच्चारणेन कृतं मङ्गलम् (*Uddyōta* under अ अ VIII-4-68).

दोषवान्खल्वपि संज्ञाधिकारः; अष्टमेऽपि हि संज्ञा क्रियते **तस्य परमाम्रेडितम्** इति, तत्रापीदमनुवर्त्यं स्यात्

Saṁjñādhikāra will be defective too; For there is *saṁjñā sūtra* like **तस्य परमाम्रेडितम्** in the eighth chapter. There too this *saṁjñādhikāra* should have its influence.

अथवाऽस्थानेऽयं यत्नः क्रियते, न हीदं लोकाद्भिद्यते। यदीदं लोकाद्भिद्येत ततो यत्नार्हं स्यात्। तद्यथा–अगोज्ञाय कश्चिद्गां सक्थनि कर्णे वा गृहीत्वोपदिशति **अयं गौः** इति; न चास्मायाचष्टे इयमस्य संज्ञेति, भवति चास्य संप्रत्ययः

Or this attempt is inopportune, for this is not different from what is met in the world. If this is different from what happens in the world, then it deserves to be specially treated. For example, one takes hold of a cow by its thigh or ear and tells another ignorant of it 'this is a cow'; but he never tells him that it is her *saṁjñā*. Correct impression is formed in the mind of the hearer.

तत्रैतत्स्यात् **कृतस्तत्र पूर्वैरभिसम्बन्धः** इति

There, this may be said that the *saṁjñā–saṁjñī bhāva* was determined by the forefathers.

इहापि कृतः पूर्वैरभिसम्बन्धः

Here too the relation has been determined by the forefathers.

कैः? By whom?

आचार्यैः By the *Ācāryas*.

तत्रैतत्स्यात् **यस्मै तर्हि संप्रत्युपदिशति तस्याकृतः** इति

There may this arise that he who is now taught does not know it.

लोकेऽपि हि यस्मै सम्प्रत्युपदिशति तस्याकृतः । अथ तत्र कृतः, इहापि कृतो द्रष्टव्यः

In the world too he who is taught does not know it. If he knows it there, here also it should be taken that he knows it.

VI

सतो वृद्ध्यादिषु संज्ञाभावात् तदाश्रय इतरेतराश्रयत्वादप्रसिद्धिः

On account of inter-dependence, *saṁjñā* coming in when *saṁjñin* exists and *saṁjñin* being comprehended through *saṁjñās*, there is no clear comprehension in the words *vṛddhi* etc.

सतः संज्ञिनः संज्ञाभावात्, तदाश्रये संज्ञाश्रयेसंज्ञिनि, वृद्ध्यादिष्वितरेतराश्रयत्वादप्रसिद्धिः

When *saṁjñin* exists, there is need for naming it; the *saṁjñin* is comprehended through *saṁjñā*. Hence there is inter-dependence. On that account there is no clear comprehension of the words *vṛddhiḥ* etc. (In *sūtras* like *mṛjēḥ vṛddhiḥ*.)

का इतरेतराश्रयता ?

How is interdependence ?

सतामादैचां संज्ञया भवितव्यम्, संज्ञया चादैचो भाव्यन्ते । तदेतदितरेतराश्रयं भवति; इतरेतराश्रयाणि च कार्याणि न प्रकल्पन्ते; तद्यथा नौर्नावि बद्धा नेतरत्राणाय भवति

There should be *ādāic* so that *saṁjñā* may be given to it; and through *saṁjñā* they are made to exist. This is interdependence. Deeds which are interdependent are not accomplished. For instance ship attached to another ship is not able to come to its rescue (while sinking).

ननु च भोः, इतरेतराश्रयाण्यपि कार्याणि दृश्यन्ते, तद्यथा नौः शकटं वहति, शकटं च नावं वहति

Oh! we see even the interdependent deeds being accomplished. For instance ship carries cart and cart carries ship.

अन्यदपि तत्र किंचित् भवति जलं स्थलं वा; स्थले शकटं नावं वहति, जले नौः शकटं वहति

Another thing is there, water or land; cart carries ship on land and ship carries cart on water.

यथा तर्हि त्रिविष्टब्धकम्

So then a holder (of books) made of three planks (may serve as an example.)

तत्राप्यन्ततः सूत्रकं भवति । इदं पुनरितरेतराश्रयमेव

There too exists the string (which keeps them together). Here there is only interdependence.

सिद्धं तु नित्यशब्दत्वात्

Our object is gained on account of the *nityatva* of *śabda*.

सिद्धमेतत्

Our object is gained.

कथम्? How?

नित्यशब्दत्वात् । नित्याः शब्दाः, नित्येषु शब्देषु सतामादैचां संज्ञा क्रियते; न च संज्ञया आदैचो भाव्यन्ते

(It is so) since *śabda* is *nitya*. *Śabdas* are *nitya*; when *śabdas* are *nitya*, *saṁjñā* is given to *ādāic* which already existed; their existence is not brought out by the *saṁjñā*.

यदि तर्हि नित्याः शब्दाः किमर्थं शास्त्रम् ?

If *śabdas* are *nitya*, what for is the *śāstra* ?

किमर्थं शास्त्रमिति चेन्निवर्तकत्वात्सिद्धम्

If it is asked what for the *śāstra* is, its existence is established on account of its warding capacity.

निवर्तकम् शास्त्रम्

Śāstra has the capacity to ward off.

कथम् ? How ?

मृजिरस्मायविशेषेणोपदिष्टः, तस्य सर्वत्र मृजिबुद्धिः प्रसक्ता, तत्रानेन निवृत्तिः क्रियते मृजेरकृङित्सु प्रत्ययेषु मृजिप्रसङ्गे मार्जिः साधुर्भवति इति

The root *mṛj* is read generally. Hence it is taken that it comes everywhere. Then this *sūtra* (*mṛjēḥ vṛddhiḥ*) prohibits it. It says that, when it is followed by *pratyayas* which are neither *kit* nor *ṅit*, *mārj* is the correct form in the place of *mṛj*.

VII

*[**वृद्धिगुणसंज्ञयोः प्रत्येकं वचनम्** वृद्धिगुणसंज्ञयोः प्रत्येकग्रहणं वक्तव्यम्]

Need for the word *pratyēka* in the first two *sūtras*. The word *pratyēka* should be read in the first two *sūtras*.

प्रत्येकं वृद्धिगुणसंज्ञे भवत इति वक्तव्यम्

It should be said that the *saṁjñā*, *vṛddhiḥ* and *guṇaḥ* apply to each (of *ādāic* and *adēṅ* respectively.)

* The Portion marked [ ] is not found in certain editions.

किं प्रयोजनम् ?

What is the benefit ?

समुदाये मा भूताम् इति

So that they may not apply collectively.

अन्यत्र सहवचनात्समुदाये संज्ञाप्रसङ्गः

The word *saha* being found elsewhere, no possibility for the *saṁjñā* collectively.

अन्यत्र सहवचनात्समुदाये वृद्धिगुणसंज्ञयोरप्रसङ्गः। यत्रेच्छति सहभूतानां कार्यं करोति तत्र सहग्रहणम्। तद्यथा **सह सुपा, उभे अभ्यस्तं सह** इति

Since the word *saha* is read elsewhere, there is no possibility for the *saṁjñā*, *vṛddhiḥ* and *guṇaḥ* to be applied collectively. Where he wants anything collectively, he reads the word *saha*. *viz. Saha supā, ubhē abhyastam saha.*

प्रत्यवयवं च वाक्यपरिसमाप्तेः

On account of the fruit of the meaning of the sentence being seen individually.

प्रत्यवयवं च वाक्यपरिसमाप्तिर्दृश्यते। तद्यथा देवदत्तयज्ञदत्तविष्णुमित्रा भोज्यन्तामिति। न चोच्यते प्रत्येकमिति। प्रत्येकं च भुजिः परिसमाप्यते

The fruit of the meaning of the sentence is seen individually. For instance, in the sentence **देवदत्तयज्ञदत्तविष्णुमित्रा भोज्यन्ताम्** the word **प्रत्येकम्** is not used. The fruit of eating is seen individually.

ननु चायमप्यस्ति दृष्टान्तः **समुदाये वाक्यपरिसमाप्तिः** इति। तद्यथा **गर्गाः शतं दण्ड्यन्ताम्** इति। अर्थिनश्च राजानो हिरण्येन भवन्ति, न च प्रत्येकं दण्डयन्ति

Oh! the other *nyāya* also is found that the fruit of the action is found collectively. *viz. Gargāḥ śatam daṇḍyantām.* Kings want money and they do not fine them individually.

सति एतस्मिन् दृष्टान्ते यदि तत्र सहग्रहणं क्रियते, इहापि प्रत्येकमिति वक्तव्यम् । अथ तत्रान्तरेण सहग्रहणं सहभूतानां कार्यं भवति, इहापि नार्थः प्रत्येकमिति वचनेन

If, in the presence of this *nyāya*, the word *saha* is read, here too the word *pratyēkam* should be read. If, without the use of the word *saha*, action may take place collectively, here too can it take place individually without the use of the word *pratyēkam*.

Here it may be noted that there is slight difference in their views between *Vārttikakāra* and *Mahābhāṣyakāra*; the former does not take cognisance of the *nyāya* समुदाये वाक्यपरिसमाप्तिः and hence thinks that there is need for the word *saha* in that case and there is no need for *pratyēkam* in the other case. *Mahābhāṣyakāra*, on the other hand, wants *saha* there and *pratyēkam* here, if one does not take recourse to the *nyāyas* or does not want them both, since the same can be determined by the application of the two *nyāyas* mentioned above.

VIII

अथ किमर्थमाकारस्तपरः क्रियते?

Now what for is आ provided with त्?

आकारस्य तपरकरणं सवर्णार्थम्

Taparakaraṇa of *ākāra* is for *savarṇa*.

आकारस्य तपरकरणं क्रियते । किं प्रयोजनम्? सवर्णार्थम् । **तपरस्तत्कालस्य** इति तत्कालानां सवर्णानां ग्रहणं यथा स्यात्

Ā is provided with *t*. What for? For the sake of *savarṇa*—So that it may denote *savarṇas* of the same quantity by the *sūtra* **तपरस्तत्कालस्य.**

केषाम्? For what (*savarṇas*)?

उदात्तानुदात्तस्वरितानाम्?

For *ā* with *udātta, anudātta* and *svarita* accent.

किं च कारणं न स्यात्?

Why could they not be denoted?

भेदकत्वात्स्वरस्य, भेदका उदात्तादय:

On account of the differentiating capacity of accent. *Udātta* etc. are differentiating elements.

कथं पुनर्ज्ञायते भेदका उदात्तादय इति?

How is it understood that *udātta* etc. are differentiating elements?

एवं हि दृश्यते लोके—य उदात्ते कर्तव्येऽनुदात्तं करोति खण्डिकोपाध्यायस्तस्मै चपेटां ददाति अन्यत् त्वं करोषीति

For thus is seen in the world—him who mispronounces *anudātta* for *udātta*, the teacher of pupils who learn section by section of a work gives him a blow with open hand saying that you are mispronouncing.

अस्ति प्रयोजनमेतत्—

There is this benefit, but —

किं तर्हीति?

Then what is suggested by *but*?

भेदकत्वाद्गुणस्य

Bhēdakatvād guṇasya.

भेदकत्वाद्गुणस्येति वक्तव्यम्

It should be said *bhēdakatvād guṇasya* (*i.e.*) *svarasya* in the previous *vārttika* should be replaced by *guṇasya*.

किं प्रयोजनम्?

What is the use?

आनुनासिक्यं नाम गुणः, तद्भिन्नस्यापि ग्रहणं यथा स्यात्

Nasalisation is a *guṇa*; so that it may apply to that differentiated by it.

किं च कारणं न स्यात्?

Why should it not refer?

भेदकत्वाद्गुणस्य—भेदका गुणाः

On account of the differentiating capacity of *guṇa*. *Guṇas* are differentiating elements.

कथं पुनर्ज्ञायते भेदका गुणा इति?

How is it known that *guṇas* are *bhēdakas*?

एवं हि दृश्यते लोके—एकोऽयमात्मा उदकं नाम, तस्य गुणभेदात् अन्यत्वं भवति, अन्यदिदं शीतम् अन्यदिदमुष्णम् इति

For thus is seen in the world. The one object—water—becomes different with different qualities—this is cool and this is hot.

ननु च भोः, अभेदका अपि गुणा दृश्यन्ते, तद्यथा देवदत्तो मुण्ड्यपि जट्यपि शिख्यपि स्वमाख्यां न जहाति, तथा बालो युवा वृद्धो वत्सो दम्यो बलीवर्द इति

Oh! there are *guṇas* which do not sometimes differentiate. For instance as *Dēvadatta* is not bereft of his name

whether his head is completely shaven, full of clotted hair or has tuft, so also an ox is not bereft of its name whether it is young, middle-aged, old, a calf or a tamed animal.

उभयमिदं गुणेषूक्तम् भेदका अभेदका इति । किं पुनरत्र न्याय्यम्?

Here both have been said with reference to *guṇas* that they are *bhēdaka* and *abhēdaka*. Which is right here?

अभेदका गुणा इत्येव न्याय्यम्

It is right to take that *guṇas* are *abhēdaka*.

कुत एतत्? Why is it?

यदयं **अस्थिदधिसक्थ्यक्ष्णामनङुदात्तः** इत्युदात्तग्रहणं करोति, तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्योऽभेदका गुणा इति । यदि हि भेदका गुणाः स्युः उदात्तमेवोच्चारयेत्

Since the *Ācārya* mentions the word *udātta* in the *sūtra asthi..*, he indicates that *guṇas* are *abhēdakas*. If *guṇas* are *bhēdakas*, he would have pronounced the words with *udātta* accent.

यदि तर्हि अभेदका गुणा अनुदात्तादेरन्तोदात्ताच्च यदुच्यते तत्स्वरितादेः स्वरितान्ताच्च प्राप्नोति

If, then, *guṇas* are *abhēdakas*, that which is said for a word which has its first syllable *anudātta*, or its last syllable *udātta*, will be applied to a word which has its first syllable *svarita* or the last syllable *svarita*.

नैष दोषः, आश्रीयमाणो गुणो भेदको भवति, तद्यथा **शुक्लमालभेत कृष्णमालभेत,** तत्र यः शुक्ल आलब्धव्ये कृष्णमालभते न हि तेन यथोक्तं कृतं भवति

This is no defect. The *guṇa* that is specifically mentioned along with the object serves as a differentiating element. For instance when it is said 'Tie to the stake the white', 'Tie to the stake the black', if one ties the black when the white has to be tied, he has not done as is ordained.

असंदेहार्थस्तर्हि तकारः। ऐजित्युच्यमाने सन्देहः स्यात्, किमिमावैचावेव आहोस्वित् आकारोऽप्यत्र निर्दिश्यत इति

Takāra is then to avoid the doubt. If *āic* alone is read, there is the doubt, whether the *pratyāhāra* *āic* alone is referred to here or *ā* also.

सन्देहमात्रमेतद्भवति। सर्वसन्देहेषु चेदमुपतिष्ठते **व्याख्यानतो विशेषप्रतिपत्तिर्न हि सन्देहादलक्षणम्** इति। त्रयाणां ग्रहणमिति व्याख्यास्यामः। अन्यत्रापि ह्ययमेवंजातीयकेषु सन्देहेषु न कंचिद्यत्नं करोति, तद्यथा **औतोऽम्शसोः** इति

There is this doubt alone. In all cases of doubt we take recourse to this that detailed knowledge arises from the commentary and hence doubt does not enable the *śāstra* to be neglected. We comment that *āic* refers to all the three. He has not made any attempt in similar cases of doubt (to remove the same), *viz. āutōmśasōḥ*.

इदन्तर्हि प्रयोजनम् * आन्तर्यतस्त्रिमात्रचतुर्मात्राणां स्थानिनां त्रिमात्रचतुर्मात्रा आदेशा मा भूवन् इति, खट्वा इन्द्रः खट्वेन्द्रः, खट्वा उदकं खट्वोदकं, खट्वा ईषा खट्वेषा, खट्वा ऊढा खट्वोढा, खट्वा एलका खट्वैलका, खट्वा ओदनः खट्वौदनः, खट्वा ऐतिकायनः खट्वैतिकायनः, खट्वा औपगवः खट्वौपगव इति

This is the benefit—*ādēśas* of three and four *mātrās* may not, by the principle of similarity, replace *sthānin* with three or four *mātrās* in the following:—खट्वा इन्द्रः . . . खट्वौपगवः.

अथ क्रियमाणेऽपि तकारे कस्मादेव त्रिमात्रचतुर्मात्राणां स्थानिनां त्रिमात्रचतुर्मात्रा आदेशा न भवन्ति?

Even when *takāra* is read, how cannot *ādēśas* of three and four *mātrās* replace *sthānin* with three and four *mātrās*?

* It should be understood that त् is not for आ but for ऐच्

तपरस्तत्कालस्य इति नियमात्

By the *sūtra-taparastatkālasya.*

ननु तः परः यस्मात्सोऽयं तपरः?

Is not *tapara* a *bahuvrīhi* compound ?

नेत्याह, तादपि परः तपरः

No, says he; it is also a *tatpuruṣa* compound.

यदि तादपि परस्तपरः **ऋदोरप्** इतीहैव स्यात् यवः स्तवः, लवः पवः इत्यत्र न स्यात्

If it is taken as a *tatpuruṣa* compound, the *sūtra* **ऋदोरप्** will operate only with respect to **यवः** and **स्तवः** and not with respect to **लवः** and **पवः**.

नैष तकारः

This is not *takāra.*

कस्तर्हि? What then ?

दकारः *Dakāra.*

किं दकारे प्रयोजनम्?

What is the use in reading *dakāra* ?

अथ किं तकारे? यवसंदेहार्थस्तकारः दकारोऽपि, अथ मुखसुखार्थस्तकारः दकारोऽपि

What is it in reading *takāra* ? If it is to avoid the doubt, *dakāra* also serves the same purpose; if it is for euphony, *dakāra* also is for the same.

इको गुणवृद्धी.

Eight topics are dealt with in this *sūtra*:—(1) the need for *ikaḥ* in this *sūtra* (2) the need for the *anuvṛtti* of the words *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* from the previous *sūtras* (3) whether this *sūtra* and *alōntyasya* have the relationship of *śēṣaśēṣitva* (4) whether this *sūtra* and *alōntyasya* are in the relationship of *utsargāpavāda* (5) whether this *sūtra* and *alōntyasya* are not at all connected with each other (6) wherever *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* is enjoined, the word *ikaḥ* appears there (7) what will be the harm if the word *vṛddhi* is not in this *sūtra* ? (8) whether this *sūtra* is a *vidhi-sūtra* or a *paribhāṣā*.

I

इग्ग्रहणं किमर्थम्?

What is the need for the word इक् (in this *sūtra*) ?

इग्ग्रहणं आत्सन्ध्यक्षरव्यञ्जननिवृत्त्यर्थम्

The use of इक् is to ward off *guṇa* to *ā*, diphthongs and consonants.

इग्ग्रहणं क्रियते । किं प्रयोजनम्? आकारनिवृत्त्यर्थं सन्ध्यक्षरनिवृत्त्यर्थं व्यञ्जननिवृत्त्यर्थं च । आकारनिवृत्त्यर्थं तावत्, याता वाता, आकारस्य गुणः प्राप्नोति, इग्ग्रहणान्न भवति । सन्ध्यक्षरनिवृत्त्यर्थम्, ग्लायति म्लायति, सन्ध्यक्षरस्य गुणः प्राप्नोति, इग्ग्रहणान्न भवति । व्यञ्जननिवृत्त्यर्थम्, उम्भिता उम्भितुम् उम्भितव्यं, व्यञ्जनस्य गुणः प्राप्नोति, इग्ग्रहणान्न भवति

The word इक् is used. What for ? To ward off *guṇa* (*a*) in the place of *ā*, diphthongs and consonants. First as regards the warding off *ā* from being *sthānin* of *guṇa*, *guṇa* may replace *ā* by the *sūtra* (*sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayōḥ*) while the words *yātā* and *vātā* are formed; it does not take place on account of the use of इक्. As regards diphthongs, *guṇa* (*ē*) may replace *āi* while the words *glāyati* and *mlāyati* are formed; it does not take place on account of the

use of इक्. As regards consonants, *guṇa* (*a*) may replace consonants while the words *umbhitā*, *umbhitum*, and *umbhitavyam* are formed; it does not take place on account of the use of इक्.

आकारनिवृत्त्यर्थेन तावन्नार्थः । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति नाकारस्य गुणो भवतीति, यदयम् **आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः** इति ककारमनुबन्धं करोति

First it is not to ward off *guṇa* to *ā*. *Ācārya's* use suggests that *guṇa* does not replace *ā*, since he uses the *anubandha* '*k*' in the *sūtra*—*ātōnupasargē kaḥ*.

कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम्?

In what manner should it be understood so that it may be taken as *jñāpaka*?

कित्करणे एतत्प्रयोजनं क्ङितीत्याकारलोपो यथा स्यात्; यदि चाकारस्य गुणः स्यात् कित्करणमनर्थकं स्यात्, गुणे कृते द्वयोरकारयोः पररूपेण सिद्धं रूपं स्याद् गोदः कम्बलद इति; पश्यति तु आचार्यो नाकारस्य गुणो भवतीति, ततः ककारमनुबन्धं करोति

This is the benefit of *kitkaraṇa*, that *ā* may be elided by the *sūtra* क्ङिति...; if *guṇa* can replace *ā*, *kitkaraṇa* will be of no use; for, in the formation of the word *gōdaḥ*, *go-dā-a* will become *gō-da-a* if *guṇa* replaces *ā*, and then *gō-d-a* if *pararūpa* comes (by the *sūtra* '*atō guṇē*'). So also is *kambalada*. But *Ācārya* sees with his mind's eye that *guṇa* does not replace *ā* and hence uses the *anubandha* '*k*'.

सन्ध्यक्षरनिवृत्त्यर्थेनापि नार्थः; उपदेशसामर्थ्यात् सन्ध्यक्षरस्य गुणो न भविष्यति

It is not also to ward off *guṇa* to diphthongs since *guṇa* cannot replace a diphthong on account of the significance of their being read separately.

व्यञ्जननिवृत्त्यर्थेनापि नार्थः ; आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति न व्यञ्जनस्य गुणो भवतीति यदयं जनेर्डं शास्ति

It is not also to ward off *guṇa* to consonants since the use of *ḍit* by *Ācārya* in the *sūtra* '(*saptamyām*) *janēr ḍaḥ* suggests that *guṇa* does not replace a consonant.

कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकं ?

In what manner should it be understood so that it may be taken as *jñāpaka?*

डित्करणे एतत्प्रयोजनं, डिति इति टिलोपो यथा स्यात् । यदि च व्यञ्जनस्य गुणः स्याद् डित्करणमनर्थकं स्यात्, गुणे कुते त्रयाणामकाराणां पररूपेण सिद्धं रूपं स्यात् उपसरजो मन्दुरज इति । पश्यति त्वाचार्यो न व्यञ्जनस्य गुणो भवतीति, ततो जनेर्डं शास्ति

The use of *ḍit-karaṇa* is that the final syllable may be dropped if it is followed by a *ḍit*. If consonant were to be replaced by *guṇa*, *ḍit-karaṇa* will be of no use; for after *guṇa* replaces the consonant, the forms *upasarajaḥ* and *mandurajaḥ* * will be got by applying the *sūtra* dealing with *pararūpa* twice. But *Ācārya* sees with his mind's eye that *guṇa* does not replace a consonant and hence uses *ḍit* in the *sūtra* '*saptāmyām janēr ḍaḥ*'

नैतानि सन्ति ज्ञापकानि । यत्तावदुच्यते कित्करणं ज्ञापकं नाकारस्य गुणो भवतीति, उत्तरार्थमेतत्स्यात् तुन्दशोकयोः परिमृजापनुदोः इति

These are not *jñāpakas* What was first put forth that *kit-karaṇa* in *ātōnupasargē kaḥ* suggests that *guṇa* does

* *mandura - jan - a : mandura - jaa - a : manduraja*

not replace *ā* does not stand; for it is useful in the interpretation of the *sūtra* '*tundaśōkayōḥ parimṛjāpanudōḥ.*'*

यत्तर्हि गापोष्टक् इत्यनन्यार्थं ककारमनुबन्धं करोति,

If so, *kitkaraṇa* in the *sūtra* '*gāpōṣṭak*' serving no other purpose suggests it.

यद्प्युच्यते उपदेशसामर्थ्यात् सन्ध्यक्षरस्य गुणो न भवतीति, यदि यद्यत्सन्ध्यक्षरस्य प्राप्नोति तत्तदुपदेशसामर्थ्याद्बाध्यते, आयादयोऽपि तर्हि न प्राप्नुवन्ति

The other point that was put forth that *guṇa* cannot replace a diphthong on account of the significance of their separate *upadēśa*, if acceded, will lead to this:— whatever takes places to diphthongs, it will be warded off by the separate *upadēśa* and hence (the *ādēśa*) *āy* etc. cannot function.

नैष दोषः; यं विधिं प्रत्युपदेशोऽनर्थकः स विधिर्बाध्यते, यस्य तु विधेर्निमित्तमेव नासौ बाध्यते, गुणं च प्रत्युपदेशोऽनर्थकः आयादीनां पुनर्निमित्तमेव

This (objection) cannot stand; for the *vidhi* in respect of which *updēśa* is of no use is warded off and that in respect of which it is only *nimitta*, it is not warded off; in respect of *guṇa*, it is of no use and in respect of *āy* etc., it is only *nimitta*.

यदप्युच्यते जनेर्डवचनं ज्ञापकं न व्यञ्जनस्य गुणो भवतीति, सिद्धे विधिरारभ्यमाणो ज्ञापकार्थो भवति, न च जनेर्गुणेन सिध्यति। कुतो ह्येतत् जनेर्गुण उच्यमानोऽकारो भवति न पुनरेकारो वा स्यादोकारो वेति?

The third point that *ḍit* in *janēr ḍaḥ* suggests that *guṇa* does not replace consonant does not stand; for a *vidhi*, only

* *Kit* is useful to prevent *guṇa* in the words *tundaparimṛjaḥ* and *śōkāpanudaḥ*.

when it is proved to be of no use, is taken to be *jñāpaka* and the desired form is not obtained by replacing *n* in *jan* by *guṇa*. How is it that, when it is taken that *guṇa* replaces *n* in *jan*, it should be only *a* and not *ē* or *ō*?

आन्तर्यतोऽर्धमात्रिकस्य व्यञ्जनस्य मात्रिकोऽकारो भविष्यति

By closer similarity the consonant having half a *mātrā* is replaced by *a* which has one *mātrā*.

एवमप्यनुनासिकः प्राप्नोति

If so, the nasalised *a* may come.

पररूपेण शुद्धो भविष्यति

It becomes non-nasalised by *para-rūpa* (since the *a* that follows it is a non-nasalised one.)

एवं तर्हि गमेरप्ययं डो वक्तव्यः, गमेश्च गुण उच्यमान आन्तर्यतः ओकारः प्राप्नोति । तस्मादिग्ग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्

If so, this *ḍit* should be read for *gam* also; * for if it is said that *guṇa* replaces *m* in *gam*, *ō* will replace it by closer similarity †. Hence *ik* should be read in this *sūtra*.

From the foregoing part it may be clear that, according to the *pūrvapakṣa*, *ikaḥ* need not be read here and so the two *sūtras*—*ikō guṇavṛddhī* and *na dhātulōpa ārdhadhātukē* may be read together. The *siddhānta* says that the word *ikaḥ* is needed here to prevent *ō* replacing *m* in *gam* and hence *ikō guṇavṛddhī* should be read as a separate *sūtra*.

* After the *sūtra*—*saptamyām janēr ḍaḥ* (III, 2, 97), the *sūtra anyēṣvapi dṛśyatē* (III 2, 10) is read. If the root *gam* is taken under the word *anya*, this answer holds good.

† Similarity referred to here is that both are labials.

II

यदि इग्ग्रहणं क्रियते द्यौः, पन्थाः, सः, इमम् इत्येतेऽपि इकः प्राप्नुवन्ति

If the word इक् is read in the *sūtra*, *āu* etc. (enjoined by the *sūtras* दिव औत्, पथिमथ्यृभुक्षामात्, त्यदादीनामः) to form the words द्यौः, पन्थाः, सः, इमम् will replace only इक्.*

संज्ञया विधाने नियमः

Restriction on the injunction with the *saṁjñā*.

संज्ञया ये विधीयन्ते तेषु नियमः

Only those which are enjoined with the appellation *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* come under this *sūtra*.

किं वक्तव्यमेतत्?

Is there any need for this to be said?

न हि

No, certainly not.

कथमनुच्यमानं गंस्यते?

How can it be understood if it is not so said?

गुणवृद्धिग्रहणसामर्थ्यात्

On account of the significance of having read *guṇavṛddhī* in this *sūtra*.

कथं पुनरन्तरेण गुणवृद्धिग्रहणम् इको गुणवृद्धी स्याताम्?

How then can *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* replace इक् if the expression *guṇavṛddhī* is not read here?

* Since *ā*, *āu* and *a* are either *vṛddhi* or *guṇa* letter, this *pūrvapakṣa* arose.

प्रकृतं गुणवृद्धिग्रहणमनुवर्तते

The expression *guṇavṛddhī* mentioned before is supplied here.

क्व प्रकृतम् ? *

Where is it mentioned before?

वृद्धिरादैजदेङ्गुण इति

In the *sūtras*—*vṛddhirādāic* and *adēṅ guṇaḥ*.

यदि तदनुवर्तते अदेङ्गुणो वृद्धिश्च इत्यदेङां वृद्धिसंज्ञापि प्राप्नोति

If it (*vṛddhiḥ*) follows from the first *sūtra*, the second *sūtra* will have to be read as **अदेङ्गुणो वृद्धिश्च** so that *a*, *ē* and *ō* will get the appellation *vṛddhi* also.†

संबन्धमनुवर्तिष्यते । वृद्धिरादैच्, अदेङ्गुणः वृद्धिरादैच्, तत इको गुणवृद्धी इति, गुणवृद्धिग्रहणमनुवर्तते, आदैजदेङ्ग्रहणं निवृत्तम्

Connected element ‡ follows thus—*vṛddhirādāic*, *adēṅ guṇaḥ vṛddhirādāic*, *ikō guṇavṛddhī*. Then the expression *guṇa-vṛddhī* is supplied and the expression *ādāijadēṅ* is made to recede.

अथवा मण्डूकगतयोऽधिकाराः, यथा मण्डूका उत्प्लुत्योत्प्लुत्य गच्छन्ति, तद्वदधिकाराः

Or *anuvṛttis* are like frog-leap. As frogs skip over intermediate things, so are *adhikāras*.§

* The objection raised here is that, *tho' vṛddhiḥ* and *guṇaḥ* have been already mentioned, the compound *guṇavṛddhi* has not been mentioned.

† This statement is based on the assumption that a word in the first *sūtra* cannot be supplied in the third unless it is taken to follow in the second.

‡ *vṛddhi* connected with its *saṁjñin* is taken to follow.

§ This suggests that the word *vṛddhi* may be made to follow in the third *sūtra* without passing through the second.

अथवा एकयोगः करिष्यते **वृद्धिरादैजदेङ्गुणः**, तत **इको गुणवृद्धी** इति, न चैकयोगेऽनुवृत्तिर्भवति

Or the first two *sūtras* are made into one as *vṛddhi-rādāij-adēṅ guṇaḥ*. Then is read *ikō guṇavṛddhī*. There is no *anuvṛtti* within one and the same *sūtra*.

अथवा अन्यवचनात् चकाराकरणाच्च प्रकृतापवादो विज्ञायते, यथोत्सर्गेण प्रसक्तस्यापवादो बाधको भवति

Or on account of giving another *saṁjñā* and the absence of *ca*, it is understood to be an exception to what has been said before, in the same way as a special rule prevents the application of a general rule.

अन्यस्याः संज्ञायाः वचनात् चकारस्य चानुकर्षणार्थस्य अकरणात् प्रकृताया वृद्धिसंज्ञाया गुणसंज्ञा बाधिका भविष्यति, यथोत्सर्गेण प्रसक्तस्यापवादो बाधको भवति *

Since another appellation is given, and since the word *ca* which denotes grammatical attraction is not read, *guṇa-saṁjñā* sets aside the *vṛddhi-saṁjñā* mentioned first, in the same way as a special rule sets aside what will, otherwise, happen by the general rule.

अथवा वक्ष्यत्येतत् अनुवर्तन्ते च नाम विधयः, न चानुवर्तनादेव भवन्ति। किं तर्हि? † यत्नाद्भवन्ति इति

Or he is going to say this—that, though rules have the capacity to be supplied later on, they do not do so only on account of it. By what then? By the effort.

* This is the *vivaraṇabhāṣya* to the previous one.

† *Cf.* अकर्तव्यत्वविशिष्टपुनर्गुणवृद्धिग्रहणं यत्नः (*Uddyōta*).

अथवा उभयं निवृत्तम्, तदपेक्षिष्यामहे

Or both* are not taken by *anuvṛtti*, but we take them by *adhyāhāra*.

It may be noted here that the *anuvṛtti* of the words *vṛddhi* and *guṇa* is dealt with in seven ways. First the word *vṛddhi* is taken to the third *sūtra* through the second. The objection raised therein was that *a*, *ē* & *ō* will get the appellation of *vṛddhi* also. (2) It was met by the statement that the word *vṛddhi* alone is not taken to the second, but *vṛddhi* attached to *ādāic*. The defect here is how *ādāic* alone was made to recede. (3) Then the principle of 'Frog-leap' was applied. Recourse is taken to it only in cases where there is no other go. (4) Hence he wishes to take the *sūtras* one and two as one. It was so done on the idea that there will be no *anuvṛtti* in one and the same *sūtra*. But sometimes it is seen that there is *anuvṛtti* even in one and the same *sūtra*. (5) Hence he takes recourse to the point that the appellation *guṇa* serves as an *apavāda* to the appellation *vṛddhi* to *a*, *ē* and *ō*. The defect here is this:—The *uddēśya* in the *apavādasūtra* is that which is otherwise qualified to be the *uddēśya* in the *utsarga-sūtra*. Here the *uddēśya* of the *utsarga* is *ādāic* and that of the *apavāda* is *adēṅ*. (6) Then he says that *yatna* and not *anuvṛtti* alone serves the purpose. Here the defect is this:—the expression *guṇavṛddhī* in the third *sūtra* suggests that the expression supplied from the previous two *sūtras* is *saṁjñāpara* and that suggests that this is *arthapara*. (7) Hence the author takes recourse to the practice found in the world that we take in only those that we want.

* Both refers to *guṇa* and *vṛddhi*.

III & IV

किं पुनरयमलोऽन्त्यशेषः, आहोस्विदलोऽन्त्यापवादः?

Is this *sūtra alōntyaśēṣa* or *alōntyāpavāda: (i e)* Do this *sūtra* and the *sūtra 'alōntyasya'* form a whole sentence, one serving as part of another or are they antagonistic to each other? *

कथं चायं तच्छेषः स्यात्, कथं वा तदपवादः?

How is this *sūtra tacchēṣa* † or how is it *tadapavāda*?

यद्येकं वाक्यं—तच्च इदं च, अलोऽन्त्यस्य विधयो भवन्ति, इको गुणवृद्धी अलोऽन्त्यस्य इति—ततोऽयं तच्छेषः। अथ नाना वाक्यं—तच्च इदं च, अलोऽन्त्यस्य विधयो भवन्ति, इको गुणवृद्धी अन्त्यस्य चानन्त्यस्य च इति—ततोऽयं तदपवादः

If they are one sentence—*vidhis* happen to the final *al* and the *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* happen to the *ik* which is the final *al*—this *sūtra* is *tacchēṣa*. If they are different sentences—*vidhis* happen to the final *al* and *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* happen to *ik* which is both final and non-final, it is *tadapavāda*.

कश्चात्र विशेषः?

What is the difference here?

वृद्धिगुणावलोऽन्त्यस्येति चेन्मिदिमृजिपुगन्तलघूपधच्छिदृशिक्षिप्रक्षुद्रेष्विग्ग्रहणम्

If *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* are taken to happen to the final *al*, the word *ik* has to be read where *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* is enjoined to *mid, mṛj, pugantalaghūpadha, ṛcch, dṛś, kṣipra* and *kṣudra*.

* In the interpretation of the *sūtra sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayōḥ* there is *anuvṛtti* of *aṅgasya* and *guṇaḥ*. Since the former is in the genitive case, *alōntyasya* appears on the scene. By the mention of the latter, *ikaḥ* appears on the scene; Hence arises this doubt.

† The word *tacchēṣaḥ* may be taken here as *bahuvrīhi* and *tatpuruṣa*. *Śēṣa-śēṣi-bhāva* is here *paricchēdya-paricchēdaka-bhāva*.

वृद्धिगुणावलोऽन्त्यस्येति चेत् मिदिमृजिपुगन्तलघूपधर्च्छिदृशिक्षिप्रक्षुद्रेष्विग्ग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्। **मिदेर्गुणः**, इक इति वक्तव्यम्, अनन्त्यत्वाद्धि न प्राप्नोति; **मृजेर्वृद्धिः**, इक इति वक्तव्यम्, अनन्त्यत्वाद्धि न प्राप्नोति; **पुगन्तलघूपधस्य** गुणः, इक इति वक्तव्यम्, अनन्त्यत्वाद्धि न प्राप्नोति; ऋच्छेर्लिटि गुणः, इक इति वक्तव्यम्, अनन्त्यत्वाद्धि न प्राप्नोति; **ऋदृशोऽङि** गुणः, इक इति वक्तव्यम्, अनन्त्यत्वाद्धि न प्राप्नोति; क्षिप्रक्षुद्रयोर्गुणः, इक इति वक्तव्यम्, अनन्त्यत्वाद्धि न प्राप्नोति

If it is taken that *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* happen only to the final *al*, the word *ik* has to be read where *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* is enjoined to *mid*, *mṛj*, *pugantalaghūpadha*, *ṛcch*, *dṛś*, *kṣipra* and *kṣudra*; *midēr guṇaḥ*, *ikaḥ* should be added, for *i* cannot be replaced by *guṇa* since it is not final; *mṛjērvṛddhiḥ*, *ikaḥ* should be added, for *ṛ* cannot be replaced by *vṛddhi* since it is not final; *pugantalaghūpadhasya guṇaḥ*, *ikaḥ* should be added, for it cannot be replaced by *guṇa* since it is not final; *ṛcchēr liṭi guṇaḥ*, *ikaḥ* should be added: for *ṛ* cannot be replaced by *guṇa* since it is not final; *ṛdṛśōṅi guṇah*. *ikaḥ* should be added, for it cannot be replaced by *guṇa* since it is not final; *kṣiprakṣudrāyōrguṇaḥ*, *ikaḥ* should be added, for *i* or *u* cannot be replaced by *guṇa* since it is not final.

सर्वादेशप्रसङ्गश्चानिगन्तस्य

Possibility of *sarvādēśa* to the *aṅgas* which do not end in *ik*.

सर्वादेशश्च गुणोऽनिगन्तस्य प्राप्नोति, याता वाता

Guṇa will replace the whole if the *aṅga* does not end in *ik* as in *yātā*, *vātā*.

किं कारणम्? Why?

अलोऽन्त्यस्य इति षष्ठी चैव ह्यन्त्यमिकमुपसङ्क्रान्ता, अङ्गस्येति च स्थानषष्ठी। तद्यदिदानीमनिगन्तमङ्गं तस्य गुणः सर्वादेशः प्राप्नोति

The genitive mentioned in *alōntyasya* goes with the final *ik*. The genitive in *aṅgasya* is *sthānaṣaṣṭhī*. Hence if *guṇa* is enjoined to an *aṅga* which does not end in *ik*, it should replace the whole of it.

नैष दोषः, यथैव ह्यलोऽन्त्यस्येति षष्ठी अन्त्यमिकमुपसंक्रान्ता एवमङ्गस्येत्यपि स्थानषष्ठी, तद्यदिदानीमनिगन्तमङ्गं तत्र षष्ठ्येव नास्ति, कुतो गुणः कुतः सर्वादेशः?

The objection does not stand; just as the genitive mentioned in *alōntyasa* goes with the final *ik*, so also is *sthānaṣaṣṭhī* in *aṅgasya*; for there is no genitive in the *aṅga* which does not end in *ik*. Hence where is the possibility of *guṇa* or *sarvādēśa*?

एवं तर्हि नायं दोषसमुच्चयः

If so, they are not two coordinate defects.

किं तर्हि? What then?

पूर्वापेक्षोऽयं दोषः; ह्यर्थे चायं चः पठितः। मिदिमृजिपुगन्तलघूपधर्च्छिदृशिक्षिप्रक्षुद्रेष्विग्ग्रहणं सर्वादेशप्रसङ्गो ह्यनिगन्तस्येति

The second is subordinate to the first; the word *ca* is read in the sense of *hi*. *Ik* should be read in the *sūtras—midēr guṇaḥ* etc; for the *aṅga* which does not end in *ik* will be wholly replaced by *ādēśa*.

मिदेर्गुणः, इक इति वचनादन्त्यस्य न, अलोऽन्त्यस्य इति वचनादिको न, उच्यते च गुणः, स सर्वादेशः प्राप्नोति, एवं सर्वत्र

The *sūtra*, '*midēr guṇah*'—by the *sūtra* '*ikō guṇavṛddhī*' *guṇa* does not replace the final; by the *sūtra* '*alōntyasya*', it does not replace *ik*. But *guṇa* is enjoined and hence it should be a *sarvādēśa*. So also elsewhere.

अस्तु तर्हि तदपवादः

If so, let it be *tadapavāda.*

इक्ष्वात्रस्येति चेज्जुसिसार्वधातुकार्धधातुकह्रस्वाद्योर्गुणेष्वनन्त्यप्रतिषेधः

If it is for all *ik*, prohibition of *guṇa* to the *ik* that is not final enjoined by the *sūtra* '*jusi sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayōhrasvasya guṇaḥ*' etc.

इक्ष्वात्रस्येति चेत् जुसिसार्वधातुकार्धधातुकह्रस्वाद्योर्गुणेष्वनन्त्यप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः। **जुसि गुणः**, स यथेह भवति अजुहवुः अबिभयुः इति, एवम् अनेनिजुः पर्यवेविषुः इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति। **सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकयोर्गुणः**, स यथेह भवति कर्ता हर्ता नयति तरति इति, एवम् ईहिता ईहितुम् ईहितव्यम् इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति। **ह्रस्वस्य गुणः**, स यथेह भवति हे अग्ने हे वायो इति, एवं हे अग्निचित् हे सोमसुद् इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति। **जसि गुणः**, स यथेह भवति अग्नयः वायवः इति, एवम् अग्निचितः सोमसुतः इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति। **ऋतो ङि सर्वनामस्थानयोर्गुणः**, स यथेह भवति कर्तरि कर्तारौ कर्तारः इति, एवं सुकृति सुकृतौ सुकृतः इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति। **घेर्ङिति गुणः**, स यथेह भवति अग्नये वायवे इति, एवम् अग्निचिते सोमसुते इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति। **ओर्गुणः**, स यथेह भवति बाभ्रव्यः माण्डव्यः इति, एवं सुश्रुत सौश्रुतः इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति

As *guṇa* occurs in *ajuhavuḥ, abibhayuḥ* etc. by the application of the *sūtra* '*jusi guṇaḥ*' so also will it occur in *anēnijuḥ, paryavēviṣuḥ* etc. As *guṇa* occurs in *kartā, hartā, nayati* and *tarati* by the application of the *sūtra* '*sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayōḥ*', so also will it occur in *īhitā, īhitum* and *īhitavyam.* As *guṇa* occurs in *agnē, vāyō* by the application of the *sūtra* '*hrasvasya guṇaḥ*', so also will it occur in the vocatives *agnicit, sōmasut* etc. As *guṇa* occurs in *agnayaḥ, vāyavaḥ* etc. by the application of the *sūtra* '*jasi guṇaḥ*', so also will it occur in *agnicitaḥ, sōmasutaḥ*, etc. As *guṇa* occurs in *kartari, kartārāu, kartāraḥ* etc. by the application of *ṛtō*

ṅi sarvanāmasthānayōḥ guṇaḥ, so also will it occur in *sukṛti, sukṛtāu* and *sukṛtaḥ*: As *guṇa* occurs in *bābhravyaḥ, māṇḍavyaḥ* etc., so also will it occour in *sāuśrutaḥ* derived from *suśrut*.

नैष दोषः

This objection cannot stand.

पुगन्तलघूपधग्रहणमनन्त्यनियमार्थम्

The expression *pugantalaghūpadha* is to restrict the cases of *ik* which are not final.

पुगन्तलघूपधग्रहणमनन्त्यनियमार्थं भविष्यति — पुगन्तलघूपधस्यैवानन्त्यस्य नान्यस्यानन्त्यस्येति

The expression *pugantalaghūpadha* is to restrict (their application to *ik* which is not final) (*i. e.*) to restrict it only to such *anantya iks* as are *pugantalaghūpadha*.

प्रकृतस्यैव नियमः स्यात् *

The *niyama* will be only to that already mentioned.

किं च प्रकृतम्?

What is it that has been already mentioned?

सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकयोरिति । तेन भवेदिह नियमान्न स्याद् ईहिता ईहितुं ईहितव्यम् इति, ह्रस्वाद्योर्गुणस्त्वनियतः सोऽनन्त्यस्यापि प्राप्नोति

The *sūtra* '*sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayōḥ*'. Therefore prohibition of *guṇa* will occur by the *niyama* in the cases of *īhitā īhitum* and *īhitavyam*; but not in the cases which come under the operation of the *sūtras* like *hrasvasya guṇaḥ*; and hence the *guṇa* will occur there to *ik* which is not final also.

* प्रकृतस्यैव नियमः स्यात् is another reading.

अथाप्येवं नियमः स्यात् पुगन्तलघूपधस्य सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकयोरेवेति एवमपि सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकयोर्गुणोऽनियतः सोऽनन्त्यस्यापि प्राप्नोति, ईहिता, ईहितुम्, ईहितव्यम् इति

If the *niyama* is taken in this form that *guṇa* will occur to *pugantalaghūpadha* only when *sārvadhātuka* and *ārdhadhātuka* follow, the *guṇa* enjoined by the *sūtra* '*sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayōḥ*' will become unrestricted, so that it will occur to *anantya ik* in *īhitā*, *īhitum* and *īhitavyam*.

अथाप्युभयतो नियमः स्यात् पुगन्तलघूपधस्यैव सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकयोः सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकयोरेव पुगन्तलघूपधस्य इति, एवमप्ययं जुसि गुणः अनियतः, सोऽनन्त्यस्यापि प्राप्नोति अनेनिजुः पर्यवेविषुः इति

If the *niyama* is done both ways *pugantalaghūpadhasyāiva sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayōḥ* and *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayōrēva pugantalaghūpadhasya*, even then the *guṇa* enjoined by *jusi guṇaḥ* becomes *aniyata* so that *guṇa* will occur in *anēnijuḥ*, *paryavēviṣuḥ* etc.

एवं तर्हि नायं तच्छेषः नापि तदपवादः। अन्यदेवेदं परिभाषान्तरमसंबद्धमनया परिभाषया

If so, this is neither *tacchēṣa* nor *tadapavāda*; but a different *paribhāṣā* not at all connected with it (*alōntyasya*.)

V

परिभाषान्तरमिति च मत्वा क्रोष्ट्रीयाः पठन्ति—* नियमादिको गुणवृद्धी भवतो † विप्रतिषेधेन इति

* *Niyama* is the name to the *sūtra* '*alōntyasya*' by the previous grammarians.

† It is worth while to see if there is another reading भवति.

Thinking that it is another *paribhāṣā*, *krōṣṭrīyas* read that the *sūtra* '*ikō guṇavṛddhī*' operates against *alōntyasya* by *pūrva-vipratiṣēdha* *

यदि चायं तच्छेषः स्यात्, तेनैव तस्यायुक्तो विप्रतिषेधः; अथापि तदपवादः, उत्सर्गापवादयोरप्ययुक्तो विप्रतिषेधः। तत्र नियमस्यावकाशः राज्ञः क च राजकीयम्, इको गुणवृद्धी इत्यस्यावकाशः चयनं चायको लवनं लावकः इति। इहोभयं प्राप्नोति मेद्यति मार्ष्टि इति, इको गुणवृद्धी इत्येतद्भवति विप्रतिषेधेन

If it is *tacchēṣa*, there is no occasion for *vipratiṣēdha*, or if it is *tadapavāda*, then too there is no occasion for *vipratiṣēdha* between general rules and exceptions. Of them *alōntyasya* operates when the word *rājakīyam* is formed by the *sūtra* '*rājñaḥ ka ca*' and *ikō guṇavṛddhī* operates when the words *cayanam*, *cāyakaḥ*, *lavanam*, *lāvakaḥ* etc. are formed, while the words *mēdyati* and *mārṣṭi* are formed, both begin to operate; but *ikōguṇavṛddhī* operates prohibiting the latter.

नैष युक्तो विप्रतिषेधः, विप्रतिषेधे परम् इत्युच्यते, पूर्वश्चायं योगः, परो नियमः

This *vipratiṣēdha* is not proper; for it is said that, in conflict between two rules, the latter prohibits the former and this *sūtra* is the former and *alōntyasya* is the latter.

इष्टवाची परशब्दः, विप्रतिषेधे परं यदिष्टं तद्भवति इति

The word *para* means the *needed one*. In conflict, that which is needed operates.

एवमप्ययुक्तो विप्रतिषेधः, द्विकार्ययोगो हि विप्रतिषेधः, न चात्रैको द्विकार्ययुक्तः।

* It means the conflict between two *sūtras* where the former prohibits the latter.

Even then the *vipratiṣēdha* is not proper; for there is occasion for *vipratiṣēdha* only if one thing is to be operated upon by two *sūtras* and here there is none which is to be operated by two.

नावश्यं द्विकार्ययोग एव विप्रतिषेधः

Vipratiṣēdha does not invariably occur when one alone is to be operated by two.

किं तर्हि? What then?

असम्भवोऽपि; स चास्त्यत्रासंभवः

Non-happening too; that *asambhava* is found here.

कोऽसावसम्भवः?

What is that *asambhava*?

इह तावद् वृक्षेभ्यः प्लक्षेभ्यः इति एकः स्थानी द्वावादेशौ, न चास्ति सम्भवः यदेकस्य स्थानिनो द्वावादेशौ स्याताम्; इहेदानीं मेद्यति मेद्यतः मेद्यन्ति इति द्वौ स्थानिनौ एक आदेशः, न चास्ति संभवः यत् द्वयोः स्थानिनोरेक आदेशः स्यात् इति; एषः असंभवः, सत्येतस्मिन्नसंभवे युक्तो विप्रतिषेधः

At first in the examples *vṛkṣēbhyaḥ, plakṣēbhyaḥ* there is one *sthānin* and two *ādēśas* and it cannot be that one *sthānin* has two *ādēśas*; on the other hand, in the examples *mēdyati, mēdyataḥ, mēdyanti* there are two *sthānins* and one *ādēśa* and it cannot be that two *sthānins* can have one *ādēśa*; this is *asambhava* and when there is this *asambhava*, *vipratiṣēdha* can fit in.

एवमप्ययुक्तो विप्रतिषेधः, द्वयोर्हि सावकाशयोः समवस्थितयोर्विप्रतिषेधो भवति, अनवकाशश्चायं योगः

Even then *vipratiṣēdha* cannot fit in; for there is opportunity for *vipratiṣēdha* only when the two *sūtras* have room to operate elsewhere; and this *sūtra* has nowhere else to operate.

ननु च इदानीमेवास्यावकाशः प्रकॢप्तः चयनं चायको लवनं लावक इति ?

Is it not then that its operation is settled in the cases of *cayanam*, *cāyakaḥ*, *lavanam*, and *lāvakaḥ* etc. ?

अत्रापि नियमः प्राप्नोति

Even here '*alōntyasya*' begins to operate.

नाप्राप्ते नियमेऽयं योग आरभ्यते

This *sūtra* is read when '*alōntyasya*' invariably begins to operate.

यावता च नाप्राप्ते नियमेऽयं योग आरभ्यते, ततस्तस्य अपवादोऽयं योगो भवति । उत्सर्गापवादयोश्च अयुक्तो विप्रतिषेधः

If, then, this *sūtra* is read when *alōntyasya* begins to operate, this becomes its *apavāda* and there is no *vipratiṣēdha* between *utsarga* and *apavāda*.

अथापि कथंचिद् इको गुणवृद्धी इत्यस्यावकाशः स्यात्, एवमपि यथेह विप्रतिषेधादिको गुणो भवति मेद्यति मेद्यतः मेद्यन्ति इति, एवमिहापि स्यात् अनेनिजुः पर्यवेविषुः इति

Even if, with difficulty, room is found for *ikō guṇavṛddhī* to operate, *guṇa* will occur by *vipratiṣēdha* in *anēnijuḥ*, *paryavēviṣuḥ* in the same way as it occurs in *mēdyati*, *mēdyataḥ*, *mēdyanti* etc.

VI

एवं तर्हि वृद्धिर्भवति गुणो भवति इति यत्र ब्रूयात् इक इत्येतत्तत्रोपस्थितं द्रष्टव्यम्

If so, whenever it is said that *vṛddhi* occurs, and *guṇa* occurs, one should understand that the word *ikaḥ* presents itself.

किं कृतं भवति?

What happens then ?

द्वितीया षष्ठी प्रादुर्भाव्यते । तत्र कामचारः गृह्यमाणेन वेकं विशेषयितुम् इका वा गृह्यमाणम् । यावता कामचारः, इह तावन्मिदिमृजिपुगन्तलघूपधर्च्छिदृशि-क्षिप्रक्षुद्रेषु गृह्यमाणेनेकं विशेषयिष्यामः **एतेषां य इक्** इति; इहेदानीं जुसि-सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकह्रस्वाद्योर्गुणेष्विका गृह्यमाणं विशेषयिष्यामः, एतेषां गुणो भवति इकः इगन्तानाम् इति

Another word in the genitive case appears. It is our pleasure to take it as an adjunct to the already existing word in the genitive case or to take the latter qualifying *ikaḥ*. Since it is our pleasure, we take the word in the genitive case to qualify *ikaḥ* in the case of *midimṛjipugantalaghūpadharcchidṛśikṣiprakṣudra*, and in the case of '*jusi-sārvadhātukārdhadhātukahrasvādi* we allow the word, to be qualified by *ikaḥ*—*guṇa* replaces these which are *iganta*.

Having dealt with the six topics, *Mahābhāṣyakāra* tries in a way to meet the objections raised in the *tacchēṣapakṣa*.

अथवा सर्वत्रैवात्र स्थानी निर्दिश्यते । इह तावन्मिदेरित्यविभक्तिको निर्देशः—मिद् एः मिदेरिति; अथवा षष्ठीसमासो भविष्यति—मिद इः मिदिः मिदेरिति । पुगन्तलघूपधस्येति, नैवं विज्ञायते पुगन्ताङ्गस्य लघूपधस्य चेति; कथं तर्हि? पुकि अन्तः पुगन्तः, लघ्वी उपधा लघूपधा, पुगन्तश्च लघूपधा च

पुगन्तलघूपधं पुगन्तलघूपधस्येति। अवश्यं चैतदेवं विज्ञेयम् अङ्गविशेषणे सतीह प्रसज्येत भिनत्ति छिनत्ति इति। ऋच्छेरपि प्रश्लिष्टनिर्देशोऽयम् ऋच्छति ऋ ऋ ऋताम् ऋच्छत्यृतामिति। दृशेरपि योगविभागः करिष्यते **उरङि गुणः** उः अङि गुणो भवति, ततो **दृशेः**, दृशेश्च अङि गुणो भवति, उरित्येव, क्षिप्रक्षुद्रयोरपि **यणादिपरं गुणः** इतीयता सिद्धम्। सोऽयमेवं सिद्धे सति यत्पूर्वग्रहणं करोति तस्यैतत्प्रयोजनम् इको यथा स्यादनिको मा भूदिति

Or in all these places *sthānin* is mentioned. First in the *sūtra—midēr guṇaḥ* the word *midēḥ* is made up of two words *mid* and *ēḥ* where *mid* is in the genitive case without the case-suffix; or it is the genitive of *midiḥ* which is a *ṣaṣṭhītatpuruṣa*. The *sūtra—pugantalaghūpadhasya* is not interpreted as *pugantāṅgasya* and *laghūpadhasya*. How then? it is taken as the genitive of *pugantalaghūpadham* which is a *dvandva* compound made up of *pugantaḥ* and *laghūpadhā* which are respectively split as *puki antaḥ* and *laghvī upadhā*. This needs be said; for, otherwise *guṇa* will appear in the words *bhinatti* and *chinatti*. In the *sūtra—ṛcchatyṛtām* *ṛ* is separately mentioned so that it may be split as *ṛcchati, ṛ, ṛ, ṛtām*. As regards *ṛdṛśōṅi guṇaḥ*, it is split into two *sūtras*, *uraṅi guṇaḥ* and *dṛśaḥ*, so that *guṇa* replaces *ṛ* when it is followed by *aṅ* and *guṇa* replaces *ṛ* of *dṛś* when it is followed by *aṅ*. With respect to *kṣiprakṣudra*, since, though the desired object is won by reading the word *guṇaḥ* after the word *yaṇādiparam* in the *sūtra—sthūla - dūra - yuva - hrasva - kṣipra - kṣudrāṇām yaṇādiparam pūrvasya ca guṇaḥ*, he needs the word *pūrva*, it has this *prayōjana* that *guṇa* replaces *ik* and does not replace *anik*. Hence it must be noted that nothing has been said about *mṛjērvṛddhiḥ* and the *sūtra—ṛdṛśōṅi guṇaḥ* is split in a different order. Hence this topic is intended only to serve as a supplementary discussion to try whether *tacchēṣapakṣa* can stand.

VII

अथ वृद्धिग्रहणं किमर्थम्?

What is the need of the word *vṛddhi* in the *sūtra* ?

किं विशेषेण वृद्धिग्रहणं चोद्यते न पुनर्गुणग्रहणमपि? यदि किंचिद् गुणग्रहणस्य प्रयोजनमस्ति वृद्धिग्रहणस्यापि तद्भवितुमर्हति । को वा विशेषः?

Why is the mention of the word *vṛddhi* particularly objected and not that of *guṇa*. If there is any use in the mention of *guṇa*, the same holds good for *vṛddhi*. What is the speciality here ?

अयमस्ति विशेषः—गुणविधौ न कचित् स्थानी निर्दिश्यते, तत्रावश्यं स्थानिनिर्देशार्थं गुणग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्; वृद्धिविधौ पुनः सर्वत्रैव स्थानी निर्दिश्यते—**अचो ञ्णिति, अत उपधायाः, तद्धितेष्वचामादेः**—इति

There is this speciality that nowhere is *sthānin* mentioned in *sūtras* where *guṇa* is enjoined and hence there is the need for the mention of the word *guṇa* to determine the *sthānin* and that, on the other hand, everywhere is *sthānin* mentioned in *sūtras* where *vṛddhi* is enjoined viz. *acō ñṇiti, ata upadhāyāḥ, taddhitēṣvacām ādēḥ.*

अत उत्तरं पठति

Hence he gives the reply.

वृद्धिग्रहणमुत्तरार्थम्

The use of *vṛddhi* is for what follows.

वृद्धिग्रहणम् क्रियते; किमर्थम्?

The word *vṛddhi* is used. What for ?

उत्तरार्थम् *

For what follows.

क्ङिति प्रतिषेधं वक्ष्यति स वृद्धेरपि यथा स्यात्

So that the prohibition which he is going to enjoin when the following *pratyaya* is *kit* or *ṅit* may apply to *vṛddhi* also.

कश्चेदानीं क्ङित्प्रत्ययेषु वृद्धेः प्रसङ्गः, यावता ञ्णितीत्युच्यते?

Where is the possibility for *vṛddhi* to appear when the *kit* and *ṅit pratyayas* follow, since it appears only when the *ñit* and *ṇit pratyayas* follow?

† तच्च मृज्यर्थम्

That too is for the sake of *mṛj*.

मृजेर्वृद्धिरविशेषेणोच्यते सा क्ङिति मा भूत् मृष्टः मृष्टवान् इति

Vṛddhi that is generally enjoined to *mṛj* may not take place when it is followed by *kit pratyaya* and *ṅit pratyaya* as in the case of the words *mṛṣṭaḥ* and *mṛṣṭavān*.

‡ इहार्थं चापि For here also.

इहार्थं चापि मृज्यर्थं वृद्धिग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् । मृजेर्वृद्धिरविशेषेणोच्यते, सा इको यथा स्यात् अनिको § मा भूत् इति

The word *vṛddhi* should be read for the sake of this *sūtra* also to enable the formation of words from *mṛj*, so that the *vṛddhi* that is enjoined to *mṛj* as a whole without specifying the part to be replaced by it, may replace *ik* and not an *anik*.

* Here *uttara* refers to the *sūtra* '*kṅiti ca*'

† *Tat* refers to the previous *vārttika*.

‡ *iha* refers to the *sūtra* '*ikō guṇavṛddhi*'

§ *anik* refers to the final consonant since *alōntyasya* may operate.

मृज्यर्थमिति चेद्योगविभागात्सिद्धम्

If it is for the sake of *mṛj*, the end is achieved by *yōgavibhāga*.

मृज्यर्थमिति चेत् योगविभागः करिष्यते — मृजेर्वृद्धिरचः, ततः ञ्णिति ; ञिति णिति च वृद्धिर्भवति, अच इत्येव

If it is for the sake of *mṛj*, the *sūtras* (*mṛjēr vṛddhiḥ* and *acō ñṇiti*) are split in a different way—*mṛjēr vṛddhiracaḥ* and then *ñṇiti*. *Vṛddhi* appears when the following *pratyaya* is *ñit* or *ṇit* and it replaces only an *ac*.

यद्यचो वृद्धिरुच्यते, न्यमार्ट् अटोऽपि वृद्धिः प्राप्नोति

If *vṛddhi* is said to replace *ac*, it may replace *aṭ* also in *nyamārṭ*.

अटि चोक्तम् *

It has been said in the case of *aṭ*.

किमुक्तम् ?

What has been said ?

अनन्त्यविकारे अन्त्यसदेशस्य कार्यं भवति इति

If substitution comes to a non-final element, it will come to that which is nearer the final.

वृद्धिप्रतिषेधानुपपत्तिस्त्विक्प्रकरणात् (तस्मादिग्लक्षणा वृद्धिः)

In that case *vṛddhi–pratiṣēdha* won't fit in and hence *vṛddhi* should be enjoined with the term *ik*.

* I am not certain that this is a *vārttika* though it is found to be so in some editions.

वृद्धेस्तु प्रतिषेधो नोपपद्यते

The prohibition of *vṛddhi* (in *mṛṣṭa* etc.) won't apply.

किं कारणम्? Why?

इक्प्रकरणात्; इग्लक्षणयोर्गुणवृद्ध्योः प्रतिषेधः

(it is so) since the prohibition is only for that enjoined to इक्; the prohibition is only to such *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* as could replace an *ik*.

न चैवं सति मृजेरिग्लक्षणा वृद्धिर्भवति

If so, *vṛddhi* will not replace *ik* in *mṛj*.

तस्मान्मृजेरिग्लक्षणा वृद्धिरेषितव्या

Hence we should try to get in *mṛj*, the *vṛddhi* enjoined with the term *ik*.

एवं तर्हि, इहान्ये वैयाकरणा मृजेरजादौ सङ्क्रमे * विभाषा वृद्धिमारभन्ते, परिमृजन्ति परिमार्जन्ति परिमृजन्तु परिमार्जन्तु परिममृजतुः परिममार्जतुः इत्याद्यर्थम्; तदिहापि साध्यम्, तस्मिन् साध्ये योगविभागः करिष्यते **मृजेर्वृद्धिरचः** भवति; ततः **अचि क्ङिति,** अजादौ च क्ङिति मृजेर्वृद्धिर्भवति, परिमार्जन्ति परिमार्जन्तु परिममार्जतुः। किमर्थमिदम्? नियमार्थम्, अजादावेव क्ङिति नान्यत्र। कान्यत्र मा भूत्? मृष्टः मृष्टवान् इति। ततो वा, वा अचि क्ङिति मृजेर्वृद्धिर्भवति परिमृजन्ति परिमार्जन्ति परिममृजतुः परिममार्जतुः इति

If so, other grammarians wish *vṛddhi* optionally for *mṛj* when it is followed by *kit* and *ṅit* viz. *parimṛjanti*, *parimārjanti*, *parimṛjantu*, *parimārjantu*, *parimamṛjatuḥ*, *parimamārjatuḥ*. The same is wanted here also and hence the *sūtra*—split is done in this way—'*mṛjērvṛddhiracaḥ*' and then '*aci*

* *Saṅkrama* is the *saṁjñā* of old grammarians denoting *kit* and *ṅit*.

kṅiti', which means that *mṛj* takes *vṛddhi* when it is followed by a *kit* or *ṅit* beginning with a vowel. *viz.* *parimārjanti, parimārjantu, parimamārjatuḥ*. What is this for? For the sake of *niyama*, so that it takes place only in those places where *kit* or *ṅit* begins with a vowel and not in other places. What are those places where it should not be? They are *mṛṣṭaḥ, mṛṣṭavān*. Then the *sūtra* '*vā*' is read, which means that *mṛj* takes *vṛddhi* optionally when it is followed by a *kit* or *ṅit* beginning with a vowel, *viz.* *parimṛjanti, parimārjanti: parimamṛjatuḥ, parimamārjatuḥ*.

इहार्थमेव तर्हि सिजर्थं वृद्धिग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्, सिचि वृद्धिरविशेषेणोच्यते सेको यथा स्यात् अनिको मा भूत् इति

If so *vṛddhi* should be mentioned for the sake of this *sūtra* on behalf of *sic* so that the *vṛddhi* that is enjoined before *sic* may replace an *ik* and not an *anik*.

कस्य पुनरनिकः प्राप्नोति?

For which *anik* is there the possibility to be replaced by *vṛddhi*?

अकारस्य, अचिकीर्षीत् अजिहीर्षीत्

For *akāra; viz. acikīrṣīt, ajihīrṣīt.* *

नैतदस्ति, लोपोऽत्र बाधको भवति

No, the *lōpa* (enjoined by *atō lōpaḥ*) prevents its operation.

आकारस्य तर्हि प्राप्नोति, अयासीत् अवासीत्

If so, there is that possibility for *ākāra viz. ayāsīt, avāsīt.*

* In *acikīrṣa—it, a* is dropped by *atō lōpaḥ*.

नास्त्यत्र विशेषः, सत्यां वृद्धावसत्यां वा

Here is no difference whether there is *vrddhi* or not.

सन्ध्यक्षरस्य तर्हि प्राप्नोति

If so, there is that possibility for diphthongs.

नैव सन्ध्यक्षरमन्त्यमस्ति

There is no diphthong which is final.

ननु चेदमस्ति ढलोपे कृते उदवोढम्, उदवोढाम्, उदवोढ इति!

Oh, here it is when ढ् is elided *viz. udavōḍham, udavōḍhām udavōḍha* !

नैतदस्ति, असिद्धो ढलोपः, तस्यासिद्धत्वात् नैतदन्त्यं भवति

No, it is not; *ḍhalōpa* is taken to be non-existing; since it is *asiddha*, diphthong is not the final letter.

व्यञ्जनस्य तर्हि प्राप्नोति, अभैत्सीत्, अच्छैत्सीत्

If so, there is that possibility for consonants—*abhāitsīt, acchāitsīt.*

हलन्तलक्षणा * वृद्धिर्बाधिका भविष्यति

Vrddhi that is enjoined to the vowel of the *aṅgas* that end in consonants prevents its operation.

यत्र तर्हि सा प्रतिषिध्यते, नेटि इति अकोषीत् अमोषीत्

(What do you say) where it is prohibited by the *sūtra*—*nēṭi viz. akōṣīt, amōṣīt ?*

* This means that which is enjoined to the vowel of the *aṅga* that ends in a consonant by the *sūtra—vadavrajahalantasyācaḥ.*

सिचि वृद्धेरप्येष प्रतिषेधः

This is the prohibitive rule also for the *sūtra sici vṛddhiḥ*...

कथम्? How?

लक्षणं हि नाम ध्वनति, भ्रमति, मुहूर्तमपि नावतिष्ठते

For *niṣēdha* suggests vaguely, wanders everywhere and does not stand still even for a moment.

अथवा **सिचि वृद्धिः परस्मैपदेषु** इति सिचि वृद्धिः प्राप्नोति, तस्या हलन्तलक्षणा वृद्धिर्बाधिका, तस्या अपि **नेटि** इति प्रतिषेधः

Or *vṛddhi* before *sic* is enjoined by the *sūtra—sici vṛddhiḥ parasmāipadēṣu*; it has its *apavāda* in the *sūtra—vadavraja-halantasyācaḥ* and it has its *apavāda* in *nēṭi*.

अस्ति पुनः क्वचिदन्यत्रापि अपवादे प्रतिषिद्धे उत्सर्गोऽपि न भवति?

Is there another place where the general rule does not operate when there is an exception to the exception?

अस्तीत्याह; सुजाते अश्वसूनृते, अध्वर्यो अद्रिभिः सुतम्, शुक्रं ते अन्यत् इति; पूर्वरूपे प्रतिषिद्धे अयादयोऽपि न भवन्ति

Yes, says he: *viz. sujātē aśvasūnṛtē, adhvaryō–adribhiḥ sutam, śukram tē anyat*; here though *pūrvarūpa* is prohibited, the *ādēśas ay* etc. have not replaced *ē* etc.

उत्तरार्थमेव तर्हि सिजर्थं वृद्धिग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्, सिचि वृद्धिरविशेषेणोच्यते, सा क्ङिति मा भूत्, न्यनुवीत् न्यधुवीत्

If so, let the use of the word *vṛddhi* be intended for the the next *sūtra* to prohibit *vṛddhi* enjoined by *sici vṛddhiḥ*:... *vṛddhi* before *sic* is enjoined in general and let it not operate when it is followed by *kit* or *ṅit viz. nyanuvīt, nyadhuvīt.*

नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम्, अन्तरङ्गत्वादत्र उवङादेशे कृते अनन्त्यत्वाद् वृद्धिर्न भविष्यति

No, this is not the purpose to be served; for, after *uvaṅādēśa* which first operates by *antaraṅgaparibhāṣā*, there is no occasion for *vṛddhi* since the vowel is not the final element of the *aṅga*.

यदि तर्हि सिच्यन्तरङ्गं भवति, अकार्षीत् अहार्षीत्, गुणे कृते रपरत्वे चानन्त्यत्वाद् वृद्धिर्न प्राप्नोति

If, then, *antaraṅgaparibhāṣā* prevails in *sicivṛddhi*, the words *akārṣīt, ahārṣīt* cannot be formed since the final element of the *aṅga* is not a vowel after the operation of the *sūtras* enjoining *guṇa* and *raparatva*.

मा भूदेवम्; हलन्तस्य . . . इत्येवं भविष्यति

Let it not be in that manner; the *sūtra*—*halantasya* ... operates (and the desired form is obtained).

इह तर्हि न्यस्तारीत् न्यदारीत्, गुणे कृते रपरत्वे चानन्त्यत्वाद्वृद्धिर्न प्राप्नोति। हलन्तलक्षणायाश्च नेटि इति प्रतिषेधः

Then in the words *nyastārīt, nyadārīt, vṛddhi* cannot come in after the *sūtras* enjoining the *guṇa* and *raparatva* operate since the vowel is not final and the *sūtra* '*vadavrajahalantasya* ...' cannot operate since it is prohibited by the *sūtra* '*nēṭi*'.

मा भूदेवम्, ल्रान्तस्य इत्येवं भविष्यति

This cannot be, for it will happen by the *sūtra*—*atō lrāntasya*.

इह तर्हि अलावीत् अपावीत्, गुणे कृतेऽवादेशे चानन्त्यत्वात् वृद्धिर्न प्राप्नोति। हलन्तलक्षणायाश्च नेटि इति प्रतिषेधः

Then in the words *alāvīt, apāvīt*, *vṛddhi* cannot* come in after the *sūtras* enjoining *guṇa* and *avādēśa* operate, since the vowel is not final and the *sūtra—vadavrajahalantasyācaḥ* is prohibited from operating by the *sūtra—nēṭi*.

मा भूदेवम्, ल्रान्तस्य इत्येवं भविष्यति

This cannot be, for it will happen by the *sūtra—atō lrāntasya*.

ल्रान्तस्य इत्युच्यते, न चेदं ल्रान्तम्

It is said when the final is *l* or *r*, and this is not having *l* or *r* as its final.

ल्रान्तस्य इत्यत्र वकारोऽपि निर्दिश्यते

V also is mentioned in *lrānta*.

किं वकारो न श्रूयते?

Why is not *v* heard?

लुप्तनिर्दिष्टो वकारः

Vakāra has been dropped.

यद्येवं मा भवानवीत् मा भवान् मवीत्, अत्रापि प्राप्नोति

If so, *vṛddhi* might come in *mā bhavān avīt* and *mā bhavān mavīt*.

अविमव्योर्नेति वक्ष्यामि

I shall say that it does not come in the case of *avi* and *mavi*.

तद्वक्तव्यम्

It should be said.

न वक्तव्यम्, णिश्विभ्यां तौ निमातव्यौ

No, it need not be said; they should be exchanged by *ṇi* and *śvi*.

यद्यप्येतदुच्यते, अथवैतर्हि णिश्व्योः प्रतिषेधो न वक्तव्यो भवति, गुणे कृतेऽयादेशे च यान्तानां नेत्येव प्रतिषेधो भविष्यति

Though this is said so, there is no need for the mention of *ṇi* and *śvi* in the *sūtra* '*hmyantakṣaṇaśvasajāgrṇiśvyēditām*'; for, after they take *guṇa* and *ayādēśa*, they are prohibited from taking *vṛddhi* since they end in *y*.

एवं तर्ह्याचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति न सिच्यन्तरङ्गं भवति इति, यदयं अतो हलादेर्लघोः इत्यकारग्रहणं करोति

The *vyavahāra* of *Ācārya* suggests that the *antaraṅgaparibhāṣā* does not operate in the application of the *sūtra* '*sici vṛddhiḥ parasmāipadēṣu*'.

कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम्?

How is it to be interpreted to make it a *jñāpaka*?

अकारग्रहणस्यैतत्प्रयोजनम्, इह मा भूत् अकोषीत् अमोषीत्; यदि सिच्यन्तरङ्गं स्यात् अकारग्रहणमनर्थकं स्यात्, गुणे कृतेऽलघुत्वाद्वृद्धिर्न भविष्यति, पश्यति त्वाचार्यो न सिच्यन्तरङ्गं भवतीति, ततोऽकारग्रहणं करोति

The mention of *akāra* has this use that it may not happen in *akōṣīt*, *amōṣīt*; if *antaraṅgaśāstra* prevails in *sici vṛddhiḥ*, the use of *akāra* will be of no use since there is no short penultimate after *guṇa* comes. Hence seeing that *antaraṅga-śāstra* does not prevail there, he uses *akāra*.

नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकम्, अस्त्यन्यदेतस्य वचने प्रयोजनम्

No, this is not a *jñāpaka*, for there is a purpose in having said it.

* किम्? What?

यत्र गुणः प्रतिषिद्ध्यते तदर्थमेतत्स्यात् न्यकुटीत् न्यपुटीत् इति

Where *guṇa* is prohibited, it is used there to prohibit *vṛddhi* viz. *nyakuṭīt, nyapuṭīt.*

यत्तर्हि णिश्व्योः प्रतिषेधं शास्ति, तेन नेहान्तरङ्गमस्ति इति दर्शयति

Then since prohibition is enjoined for *ṇi* and *śvi*, *Ācārya* suggests that *antaraṅgaparibhāṣā* does not prevail here.

यच्च करोत्यकारग्रहणं लघोरिति कृतेऽपि

And since *akāra* is read even though there is the word *laghōḥ.*

तस्मादिग्लक्षणा वृद्धिः

Therefore *vṛddhi* should be enjoined to *ik.*

VIII

*षष्ठ्याः स्थानेयोगत्वादिङ्निवृत्तिः

Genitive being supplemented by *sthānē*, all *iks* will disappear.

षष्ठ्याः स्थानेयोगत्वात् सर्वेषामिकां निवृत्तिः प्राप्नोति । अस्यापि प्राप्नोति दधि मधु

Since the genitive (whose meaning is not defined) is supplemented by the word *sthānē*, all *iks* will disappear. The *ik* of *dadhi* and *madhu* will also disappear.

पुनर्वचनमिदानीं किमर्थं स्यात्?

What for, then, is the repetition? †

* The *pūrvapakṣa* says that this is a *vidhāyakasūtra* and the *siddhānta* is that it is a *paribhāṣā.*

† As in *midēr guṇaḥ.*

अन्यतरार्थं पुनर्वचनम्

The repetition is to choose one of the two.

अन्यतरार्थमेतत्स्यात्,— सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकयोर्गुण एव इति

This is to choose either of the two *viz. guṇa* alone in the operation of the *sūtra—sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayōḥ.*

* प्रसारणे च

In the case of the *sūtra* dealing with *samprasāraṇa.*

प्रसारणे च सर्वेषां यणां निवृत्तिः प्राप्नोति, अस्यापि प्राप्नोति याता वाता

When the *sūtra* dealing with *samprasāraṇa* operates, all *yaṇs* will disappear. The *y* and *v* in *yātā* and *vātā* also will disappear.

पुनर्वचनमिदानीं किमर्थं स्यात्?

What for is, then, the repetition?

विषयार्थं पुनर्वचनम्

Repetition is to decide the circumstances.

विषयार्थमेतत्स्यात् वचिस्वपियजादीनां कित्येवेति

This is to decide the circumstances viz. *samprasāraṇa* takes place to *vac, svap, yaj etc.* only when they are followed by *kit.*

उरण् रपरे च

In the *sūtra* '*uraṇ raparaḥ*' also.

* This takes places when *yaṇaḥ* in *ig yaṇaḥ samprasāraṇam* is taken to be a *sthānaṣaṣṭhi,* which is always the case.

उरण्रपरे च सर्वेषामृकाराणां निवृत्तिः प्राप्नोति, अस्यापि प्राप्नोति—कर्तृ हर्तृ

In the application of the *sūtra*, all *ṛkāras* will disappear; it will disappear in the words *kartṛ*, *hartṛ* also.

सिद्धं तु षष्ठ्यधिकारे वचनात्

The end is achieved by reading it after *ṣaṣṭhī sthānēyōgā*.

सिद्धमेतत्; कथम्?

This is achieved. How?

षष्ठ्यधिकारे इमे योगाः कर्तव्याः। एकस्तावत् क्रियते तत्रैव, इमावपि योगौ षष्ठ्यधिकारमनुवर्तिष्येते

These *sūtras* have to be read after *ṣaṣṭhī sthānēyōgā*. One—*Uraṇ–raparaḥ* is read there and the other two are taken there.

अथवा षष्ठ्यधिकारे इमौ अपेक्षिष्यामहे

Or we require them in *ṣaṣṭhyadhikāra*.

अथवेदं तावदयं प्रष्टव्यः **सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकयोर्गुणो** भवति इति इह कस्मान्न भवति याता वाता?

Or he should first be put this question why *guṇa* does not take place in *yātā* and *vātā* by the *sūtra* '*sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayōḥ*'.

इदं तत्रापेक्षिष्यते **इको गुणवृद्धी** इति

This *sūtra* '*ikō guṇavṛddhī*' is read along with it.

यथैव तर्हि इदं तत्रापेक्षिष्यते एवमिहापि तदपेक्षिष्यामहे **सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकयोः** इति

As it is read with it there, so also it is read with *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayōḥ* in interpreting its meaning.

Hence it must be noted that प्रसारणे च and उरण्रपरे च have been mentioned as parallel cases. *Mahābhāṣyakāra* first mentioned the difficulties met with, if this *sūtra* is taken a *vidhisūtra* and finally suggested three ways to avert the difficulties, of which the last is the best, where he takes the *sūtra* only as a *paribhāṣā*.

इति श्रीमद्भगवत्पतञ्जलिविरचिते व्याकरणमहाभाष्ये प्रथमाध्यायस्य प्रथमपादे

वृद्ध्याह्निकं नाम तृतीयमाह्निकम्

Vṛddhyāhnika ends.

CORRIGENDA.

Page.	Line.	For	Read.
1	15	Omit 'a'	
2	1	Omit 'of'	
5	1	Omit 'was'	
9	1	Omit 'the' before marriage.	
14	19	Rgvēda	Ṛgvēda
16	17	species	individuality
17	1, 2	species	individuality
48	23, 28	species	individuality
22	27	पॅहिक	ऐहिक
35	5	निरुक्ताद्य—	निरुक्ताद्यु—
38	26	स्मात्मानं	स्वमात्मानं
41	13	प्रतिष्ठितमं	प्रतिष्ठितमं
	27	A	The
55	10	individaality	individuality
	14	*Akrti*	*Ākṛti*
	17	अथवता—	अर्थवता—
58	4	Add 'to us' before that	
	23	धमनियमः	धर्मनियमः
70	13	for	to
72	23	the the	the
78	12	भवत	भवति
89	15	अतिखवः	अतिखट्वः
95	9	अइउण	अइउण्
106	20	women	woman
116	12	एआङ्	एओङ्
118	2	*samjña*	*saṁjñā*
122	7	योगविभाग	योगविभागः
129	21	*than*	*ṭhan*

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Page.	Line.	For.	Read.
140	26	स्वनयति	स्वर्नयति
143	8	उपदेश	उपदेशः
145	20	अथवां	अथवा
153	13	एकत्वमर्थां	एकत्वमर्थः
154	18	on	or
160	6	इात	इति
	27	सुण्ठूपदेशः	सुप्ठूपदेशः
168	23	जिहीर्षति	जिहीर्षति
170	23	इण	इण्
173	2	प्राप्नोतिः	प्राप्नोति
174	13	*Aṣṭtādhyāyī*	*Aṣṭādhyāyī*
	19	यंत्र	यत्र
176	14	पदस्यति	पदस्येति
177	18	*saṁjñas*	*saṁjñās*
187	22	comprahended	comprehended
191	12	have	as have
	25	आकारस्य	अकारस्य
192	4	For	for
216	4	occour	occur

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N. B. :—*Numbers refer to pages.*

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